

ΠΑΡΑΛΛΗΛΑ συγγραμματα,

OR,  
The Loyal Subjects Indignation,  
FOR HIS  
Royal Sovereign's

DECOLLATION;

Expressed in an

*Unparallel'd* PARALLEL

Between the

*Professed murtherer* of K. SAUL,  
and the

*Horrid actual Murtherers* of KING

CHARLES I.

The Substance whereof was delivered

In a

S E R M O N

Preached at

*Allhallows Church* in NORTHAMPTON,

On (the Day appointed for an

ANNIVERSARY HUMILIATION

in reference to that *execrable Fact*) Jan. 30. 1660.

By SIMON FORD B. D. Minister there, and Chaplain to his  
MAJESTY. 

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in St. Pauls Church-yard. 1661.





To the  
RIGHT HONOURABLE  
**J O H N**  
Earl of *LAUDERDAIL*,  
Viscount Metellan, Lord Thirleston and  
Bolton, One of the Gentlemen of his Maje-  
sties Bed-Chamber, Principal Secretary of  
State in the Kingdom of Scotland, and One  
of His Majesties most Honourable Privy  
Council in both Kingdoms.

Right Honourable,



*When I had the Happiness to be first known to  
your Lordship, during your Late Tyrannical  
and tedious Imprisonment at Windsor Castle  
(for which I still acknowledge my self obliged  
to your own Condescension, inviting me  
thereunto) I remember your Lordship was pleased to ac-  
quaint me, that some Books of mine formerly published,  
had been part of the entertainment of your private hours, du-  
ring the vacancy which that barbarous Persecution gave you  
from Publick Business. And the remembrance hereof em-  
boldneth me to presume, that your Lordships Library will af-  
ford this Little Piece also a place among its Fellows: Nor*  
am

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

*am I altogether out of hope, that it may have the like favour of approbation at your Lordships hands, from the experience then given me of the value which your Lordship then assured me you put upon them: Especially, when I consider, that the subject matter of it is Loyalty; for which your Lordship then suffered so deeply under the heavy hands of the Late bloody Tyrant and Usurper: and for which I have been for several years persecuted by the Murderers of our Late Sovereign of Glorious Memory, for endeavouring to obstruct them in the quiet possession of his vacant Seat, by both refusing to subscribe, and also bearing publick Testimony from the Pulpit against the Subscription of that accursed Engagement, imposed by them in order to a post-justification of that horrid Fact, the Extirpation of the Royal Posterity, and the Settlement of themselves in their Rights, by colour of a publick and National Consent.*

*And I assure you (my Lord) that the Conscience hereof (together with that little Contribution which (in my low capacity) I have (through Gods Goodness) lived to give towards the Restauration and Settlement of his present Majesty, my most Gracious Sovereign, and Royal Master, (whom the Divine Protection long preserve) is not the least of my Comforts, nor (I hope) shall be to my dying Day. Upon the comfortable experience whereof (as also upon the conviction of those Doctrines, which in this, and my former Parallel, I have published to the world) I am resolved as long as I live (through Gods Grace) to seek the Peace and Welfare, and Support (to my capacity) the Crown and Dignity of my most righteous Sovereign, and bid a perfect defiance to all Persons and Principles whatsoever, that are given to change.*

*Now the Lord grant that the guilt of the Late Horrid Murder upon the Lords Anointed, may be soriped off from the Score of these Nations, that we be never visited with those*



### The Epistle Dedicatory.

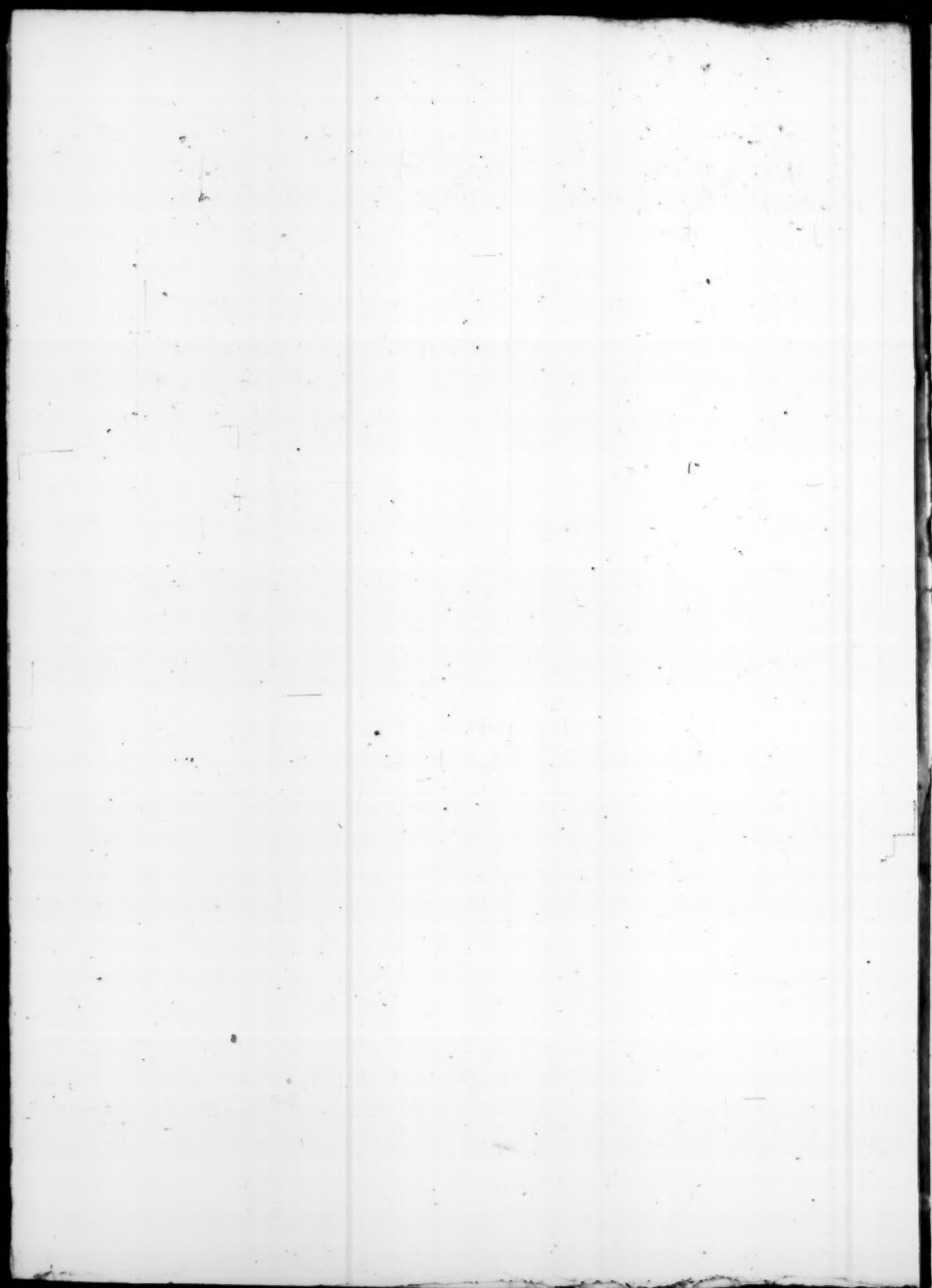
*those very evils, or worse, (for a just punishment thereof) to prevent which, the Contrivers and Executors of it, took so irregular and unlawful a course. I mean, that the violent revengefulness of some Spirits among us, may not re-produce such woful Tragedies, as God hath mercifully delivered us from once and again, within a few years last past, and perpetually honour his just and rightful Successor, our present Sovereign, with the most Noble and Glorious Title, of the Allayer of our mutual heats and animosities, the Moderator of all our Differences, and the Reconciler of us each to other (even whether we will or no) by the Interposition of his Royal Authority. Let <sup>AVVINGDA</sup> be his perpetual Motto, and the inviolable Observation of all his Acts of Pardon and Oblivion, be his Memorial and Honourable Remembrance to all Generations; and may your Lordships Counsels be perpetually assistant to Him (as I doubt not but they will) in all things of that Tendency; which will not only preserve your Name in that Repute which you have hitherto maintained amongst all pious and sober persons, but render you a Councillor in whom there will be safety to the Person and Throne of his Sacred Majesty, and make good the Character, which amongst other your Honourers, have been given of your Lordships Wisdom and Temper, by*

Right Honourable,

Your Lordships most Humble

and Affectionate Servant,

SIMON FORD.





ΠΑΡΑΛΛΗΛΑ Συναγωγή,

O R,

The Loyal Subjects Indignation,  
FOR HIS  
**Royal Sovereign's**  
Decollation, &c.

2 SAM. I. 14.

*And David said unto him, How wast thou not afraid to stretch  
forth thine hand to destroy the Lords Anointed?*



His Chapter contains in it a relation of certain passages concerning the death of King Saul, (which whether true or false (seeing we must take them upon the credit of a fugitive souldier) can hardly be put out of question; though we, (as probably David, to whom it was made, did) will at present suppose them true :) and the carriage of David thereupon. The whole story whereof seems to be recorded

The Introduction to the Text.  
An Amalekites Narrative of the death of Saul.

B

of

*The loyall Subjects Indignation,*

of purpose for the *vindication of the holy man*, from the unjust imputation of *designing and conspiring* to take away his *Sovereigns life*, by the *defensive Arms* which he had formerly *born* against him. And *three particulars* are therein mentioned, as evidences of his innocence.

1. His *unfeigned grief* for that *lamentable death* which (by the relators story) he understood had befallen him, v. 11, 12.

2. His *indignation against*, and *justice upon* the person who professed he was the *instrument* to hasten it, v. 13, so 17.

3. His *pious endeavour* to perpetuate the memory of his deceased *Sovereign* in a *mournfull Ditty* composed by himself, and appointed in succeeding Ages to be sung in a solemn manner by the *children of Judah*. To which purpose, he caused it to be recorded in a *book* kept (as it seems by *Josh. 10. 13.*) of purpose, to preserve the *memorials* of eminent men, called the *book of Jasher*, or the *Upright*; and gave it (in remembrance of the weapons of warre which (it appears by *1 Sam. 31. 3.*) were most fatal in that battel wherein *Saul* received his foyle, and first wound) the title of *Kesheth, or the Bow*, of which you have the particular account from v. 17. to the end.

My Text comes under the second of these mentioned particulars, and is the verse wherein *David* expresseth his deep resentment of the related fact, with a just horreur and indignation: *David said to him, How wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thy hand to destroy the Lords anointed?*

Which words, because they relate to a preceding *Narrative*, made by an *Amalekite* (a mercenary of *Sauls*, as is likely, escaped out of that battel before mentioned) concerning the *manner of the Kings death*: We will take a little time before we come to a particular view of them, to examine the considerable passages in it, and circumstances relating to it.

And it is observable that the *villain* expresseth in *his carriage* and relation, a strange mixture of

1. *Confidence.*

2. *Caution.*

First, *Confidence*, in that he took the boldnesse to be the *Relator* of such a story concerning *himself*, and that in the *face of Authority*, which an ordinary person would have trembled to have been charged withall by *another*. And that which most sets off his *confidence*,

Managed with  
a strange

1. *Confidence.*

*confidence,*

fidence, is, that the person before whom he confesseth himself guilty of promoting *Sauls* death, was his immediate Successour, *David*, who by his death became actually *King*. Had he been never so slightly read in *politics*, he might have learned, that succeeding *Kings*, (however, they may look on the news of their *Predecessors* death as acceptable tidings, yet) seldom look favourably upon those who have been *Instruments* in making the royal Seat void for them; as considering that the same persons who have been so kind to them, upon like inducements, may be easily tempted to do the like *conscience* for others, as occasion serves.

But (it seems) the *Wretch* built his confidence upon three probable *Upon mistaken conjectures*, in all of which (nevertheless) he was sorely mis-grounds taken.

1. That *David*, being by Gods appointment and *Samuels* motion, the next in succession to *Saul*, might by his greediness to grasp the Scepter, be tempted to make another judgement of the fact, then otherwise he would; and account his service meritorious, who had holpen him to it sooner then in the course of nature it would have fallen. He made an ill conjecture (it appears) at the temper of *Dauids* spirit, which was not so sharp-set upon the dish of Royalty (however tempting in it self, and to vulgar appetites) but that he could stay till Gods providence in a regular way carved it to him. How much mind soever he had to the golden apple, which sets all the world at odds, *Dominion*, yet had he no mind to have the Tree on which it grew, battered, to make it fall before the time.

2. That however *David* might be too mortified to bite at the bait of *Ambition*, yet secret revenge might tickle him into a good humour, when he understood in what manner divine vengeance had overtaken his deadly enemy, and implacable persecutor. But *David* had learned, that a gracious soul is frequently the more endangered by being secure from dangers. That, a state of persecution well husbanded, is the most feracious soil for grace to thrive in. That, be the benefit accreving by the fall of ones enemy never so great, yet to rejoice at the destruction of him that hateth us when evil hath found him, is not only a vicious disposition in morality, but a sin of no ordinary size in Divinity, Job 35.15. and especially, when the person so suffering is the Lords anointed; and so, the private advantage accreving thereby to any person, is too inconsiderable a compensation to be laid in ballance against a publique losse. - And upon this account his

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politicks failed the Relator in his second presumption.

3. That *David* had been in Arms against *Saul* for divers years, and was at this time in a posture of defence against him in a frontier Town of an enemies Country. These considerations gave very great suspicion that he designed the death of *Saul* himself, and so was (at least intentionally) a partner in guilt with him who effected it. But the *Miscreant* either knew not, or was willing not to know that *Dauids Arms* were merely defensive, not offensive; that, as his warrant for wearing them was extraordinary, and much different from other subjects in like cases, so his temper in the use of them was extraordinary also: and lastly, that he had more than once given evidence of no lesse, when both opportunity, and sentation from his most intimate friends, had put it to the utmost trial, 1 Sam. 24. & 26. And thus was he mistaken in his third conjecture, which bottomed his Confidence. And possibly, he himself might have some twinges and wrenches of suspicion that he might be so; and that, in the midst of his boldnesse, makes him to manage his relation (in the second place) with much

2. Caution in his Artifices & Pleas for justification or extenuation of the Fact.

1. He relates only the death of *Saul*, *Dauids enemy*.  
v. 5.

Secondly, Caution: Which appears in several particulars observable in his carriage and narrative, whereby he seems of purpose to design the extenuation of this fact which he assumed the boldnesse thus to relate. As

1. That though he brought the tidings of both *Sauls* and *Jonathans* death, yet he pretends not to have any such particular knowledge of *Jonathans* death, as he had of *Sauls*, though *David* asked him concerning them both; lest *David* should by the circumstances of his own relation, have suspected him guilty of *Jonathans* death also, as he confessed himself of *Sauls*. He knew that friendship which was between *David* and *Jonathan*, would have endangered him to a more severe scrutiny, then he hoped he should undergo for *Sauls*. At least, he was not so ready to insist on that part of the story, which he knew was the most unwelcome, and therefore chose to insist only on that which he hoped would be better entertained. He had indeed slain *Dauids enemy*, and so could give the most perfect relation of his death: but could say little but from the voice of the people, concerning the death of his friend.

2. He justifieth his Fact.

1. By *Sauls* request.

2. That though he confesseth he had an hand in the death of *Saul*, yet he was requested by himself to do it. He said unto him, Stand upon me, I pray thee, and slay me, ver. 9. Now, *volenti non fit injuria*;

*injuria*; and how much lesse, *rogami*? No man is injured, but against his will; and therefore, it cannot (in any reason) come under the notion of *Injury*, to satisfie anothers *Request*, which hath in it a superlative degree of *Voluntariness*. Besides, he was his *Sovereign*, and so his *Requests* adopted the Authority of *Commands*. And if his *Sovereigns Command* might warrant him to take away the life of *another*, why might it not justifie him rather in the case of his *own*? seeing what is a mans *own*, is more properly and directly in his power to dispose of, than what is *anothers*. Add to this; that it was the *last Office* of Love and Service that he was capable of performing towards him; and that so *great*, that as he had cause to believe, that *Saul himself* thanked him for it in his dying thoughts, so his very *Ghost*, if it were present, could not but attest, that no man ever merited more highly from *Saul*, than he had done.

3. That there was *Reason* enough why *Saul* should account no less of this Service, for no man in his condition, but would have courted death, more *amorously* than ever he did the dearest *Object* of his *Affections*: Wounded he was by his own hand, and as one that longed for death, he had digged for it into his own Breast, as for hid *Treasure*: But the *Channel* he had made for *Life* to run out at, was too narrow to give it a *speedy Vent*, which he so earnestly desired. And how could his eyes endure to see his *Beloved Sovereign* lie in that misery, wherein *Life* was his greatest *Burden*, and not ease him of it? Besides, Had there been any grounds to hope, he might recover of the wound he had given himself, no Subject he had, should have been more ready to have bound it up, and attempted the *Cure*, than himself. But sure he was, that long he could not live, V. 10. And to have protracted his *Life*, when there was only so much remaining in him, as served to augment the anguish of his death, had been the greatest Cruelty. So that, his condition considered, he could not but highly merit, by dispatching him quickly. Or if his *Charity* to him in that case might in any construction be interpreted *criminal*, yet the guilt could not be such, as to render him the *thousandth part* of a *Murderer*, seeing he could be no further chargeable with it, than that *pitiful fragment* of life amounted unto which he took away.

4. That had he not done him the *kindness* of releasing his weary soul, he had undoubtedly fallen into the hands of the *uncircum-*

By his dangerous condition,

Job 3. 21.

By the Philistines pursuit of him,

cised.



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cised Philistines, which he professed to be his great fear, 1 Sam. 31. 4. And so had doubly died by the Wounds and Sarcastmes of his Heathen Enemies. For, the Chariots and Horsemen followed hard after him, V. 6.

By his unpremeditated and providential coming to the place where he lay.

5. That he brought no design with him to the place, where he did that *Unhappy Act*. For he was by meer Providence, while he fled for his own life, cast upon that lamentable Object: He happened by chance upon Mount Gilboa, V. 6. and there he found Saul leaning upon his Spear: And this consideration will clear him from all preposed malice, which is essentially requisite to constitute a Murderer: So that in this case killing was no Murder, Besides, such was his haste, that he was in, to escape with his own life, that he had not the least time to deliberate upon any such course as might have saved Sauls, or to debate with himself concerning the Lawfulness or Unlawfulness of the Fact, being hardly himself, through his own fear, and the suddenness of the surprise by so unexpected a Providence.

By his preserving and restoring the Royal Spoiles.

6. That whereas it might possibly be supposed, that some covetous desire of enriching himself with the Royal Spoiles, tempted him to the Fact; to clear himself from any such suspicion, he had brought with him, and now rendered to his Lawful Successor, the Crown that was upon his head, and the Bracelet that was upon his Arm, V. 10. Which he took off after he was dead, to preserve them from worse hands.

By the moving habit which he made the Relation in,

7. And lastly, That it had been, and still was his unspeakable grief, that he was so unhappy, as to be any way drawn in to be instrumental in so sad a Business. That he had already spent more Tears for it, than he drew drops of blood in it; not because he thought himself in the least criminal, but because he had been so unfortunate, as to do that which looked like so great a Crime. This, though it be not recorded as the Language of his Lips, yet so much is recorded, v. 2. concerning the Garb in which he presented himself to David, as may justify a conjecture, that he intended it as no small part of his vindication: He had rent his cloaths, to testify the rending of his heart, and covered himself with ashes, to shew how willingly he could have laid himself down in the dust for his dear Master, if by dying he could have redeemed his Life.

His entertaining from David.

Pleas as plausible, as so heinous a Fact could possibly admit of. After which, we may suppose him pausing a while, and travelling with



with expectation of some great reward from *David*, before whom he seemed to himself to have so well acquitted himself, that he doubted not, but his *Murder* would advance it self to the reputation of *Merit*. But my Text tels you, how *David* disappointed his expectations, took down his confidence, and answered all his pleadings, by setting before him the atrociousness of his Fact, nakedly, and in it self considered in mitigation whereof, no Circumstances ought to be admitted to consideration: For, be all that thou hast said, true, (replies *David*) yet art thou not in the least excusable. For, *How wast thou not afraid* (upon whatever Motives, or with whatever intentions) *to stretch forth thy hand to destroy the Lords Anointed?*

And thus have I led you through the Context to the Text, by Division of a Preface somewhat tedious (I confess) but yet very necessary, to the Text. the full understanding and profitable improvement of it, as you shall see hereafter. Mean while, may it please you, with me, to observe, in this Reply of *David*, these three Parts considerable,

1. *Quid*, or what he replies; That it was a fearful sin for him to stretch out his hand to destroy the Lords Anointed.

2. *Quis*, or the Person that made it; *David* said.

3. *Quomodo*, or the manner of his Reply, which is by way of vehement Interrogation: *How wast thou not afraid*, &c.

First, The *Quid*, or Substance of his Reply, importing the Horridness of the sin of this *Amalekite*.

To which there is a twofold Evidence;

I. The Aggravations of the Crime here condemned, taken from,

1. The Person that committed, but ought to have avoided it with holy Fear; Thou, under a twofold Capacity:

1. *Thou*, a Private man.

2. *Thou*, a Subject, by present relation (at least) to *Saul*, being his Souldier.

2. The Person on whom it was committed, and who ought to have been otherwise dealt withal, considered in a double Capacity.

1. Of his Civil Quality; He was *Unctus*, a Person who had received Regal Unction, and was thereby separated from the *Vulgus*, or common sort of men, a King solemnly

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lemnly inaugurated, *The Anointed.*

2. Of his *Sacred Relation*, and so he was *Messiah Jehova*, the *Lords Anointed*, Gods Depury and Vicegerent by special Commission.
3. The *Fact it self*, which was,
  1. In its *Nature*, bloody, *he destroyed him.*
  2. In its *Principle*, voluntary, *he stretched forth his hand to do it*, which imports a purpose and resolution of heart to do it.
  3. In its *Manner*, it was done *ap̄s̄us*, without fear; He *was not afraid* to do that Act which he should have trembled at.

II. The *Invalidity* of all his former *Pleas*, or whatever might be urged in his defence; gathered from the connexion of the Verse with the preceding Relation; *David* takes no notice of any of his Pleas at all, which imports thus much [although all this, and much more might be truly said in his defence, yet it was nevertheless horrid to *David*, nor ought to have been to him.]

Secondly, *Quis*, or the Person replying, *David said*; who comes under a *twofold* Consideration also.

I. According to *what* he truly and indeed was.

1. As a *man*; one truly *pious*, and incomparably *tender-conscienced*, [*David* (the Saint) said]
2. As a *King*; For *Sauls* death actually possessed him of the *Throne*, though he were not possessed of the *Kingdom*: [*David* (the King) said.]

II. According to the *mistaken Idea* or *Notion* under which the *Malefactor* represented him to himself in the grounds of his forementioned *Confidence*; and so he comes under a *threefold* view:

1. As a *Person* mortally persecuted by *Saul*; who never left *hunting him as a partridge upon the Mountaines*, till he had hunted him into a *Foreign Countrey*, where now he was.
2. As a *Person* formerly in *Arms* against him, and yet standing upon his guard, in *Ziglag*, the place of his present *Retreat*.
3. As the *Person* who had *long* (by divine Warrant) expected the devolution of *Sauls Crown* upon himself.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, *Quomodo*, or the manner of his Reply; which imports an unusual heat and eagerness, a strange concitiation of passions. For it is by way of vehement Interrogation, aculeated with abundance of quick Tartness.

It is not barely *Affertio docentis*, an affirmation of his Duty, for then he needed to have exprest it only thus; [*Thou oughtest so have been afraid.*]

Nor barely, *Querela dolentis*, an expression of his grief for the sad accident: For then he had not needed to have languaged it otherwise than thus; [*Alas! What a fearful thing was it for thee thus to stretch forth thy hand, &c.*]

Nor barely, *Questio discentis*, an enquiry concerning the temper (or distemper rather) wherein he did it, which might have been sufficiently expressed thus; [*Wast thou not afraid, &c.*]

But it is *Interrogatio exprobrantis*, a smart interrogation, exprobrating to him the audacious impioufness of the Fact. [*How wast thou not afraid, &c.*] Which expresseth all the rest, and more too. In a word, it speaks three Passions, which David felt upon the sad Relation.

1. Grief; For so do we find that Passion venting it self by a doleful Interrogation, Lam. 4. 1. & Isa. 1. 21. &c.
2. Wonder and Astonishment; that a Person so object and contemptible, should arrive at the confidence to direct a steady blow at the heart of his Sovereign. And such [*How's*] do we also find in Scripture: See Isa. 14. 12. Prov. 30. 13. &c.
3. Horrour and Abomination of the monstrous impiety, as well as daringnes of the Act. And we are not without Examples of the Expression of this passion in a like Form. See Gen. 39. 9. Hest. 8. 6. &c.

And thus, having crumbled my Text to pieces, for the fuller And handled. Explication of it, by the due weighing of every Word contained in it, it will be needful to look them over severally.

1. As they relate to the Chapter and Narrative contained in it.

2. As they may be accommodated by way of parallel to the sad occasion of this daies Solemnity.

And First, As they relate to the Chapter and its Narrative, it First view of will be useful to consider the three Parts of the Text distinctly, the the Text.

# The loyal Subjects Indignation,

first, by way of *Doctrine*, the second and third by way of *Inference* or *Application*.

## Part I.

### Quid.

Of the heinousness of this Fact of the Amalekite in killing Saul, and (under that) of King-killing in general, Evidenced ;

First, By the aggravating Circumstances. Taken From the Person committing the Fact.

I. First then, The *Quid* or *Doctrine* which is by *David* in the *Text* in ended, to be amplified to the utmost, is, the horrid wickedness of this particular Fact of the Amalekites killing of King Saul ( in *Hypothesis* ) and thence ( in *Thesis* ) or generally, the heinousness of the sin of murdering Kings, under whatever diminutive considerations it may be presented.

Now this Intention, *David* in the *Text* doth amply make good, ( as before was intimated. )

1. By so emphatical a Collection of the Circumstances of the Crime confessed, which the distribution of the *Text* enumerates.

2. By the rejecting of all those Pleas ( as invalid ) which either were expressed, or might be implied, in the particulars of his defence before mentioned.

I. The aggravating Circumstances of the Fact, in the *Text*, are,

1. The Considerations under which the Murderer came, ( viz. ) of a private person, and one who ( of a *Forreigner*, an Amalekite, whose life Saul had spared, contrary to the express Command of God, 1 Sam. 15. ) was admitted into the condition of a Subject and Souldier under him ; and ( if the conjecture of some, that this Amalekite was Doegs Son, be true ) had received a peculiar Obligation from him, in the advancement bestowed upon his Faker.

But ( to omit his Obligations, which indeed render the Fact monstrously ingrateful, could they be proved ; but being only received from Jewish-Tradition, and not asserted in the *Text*, I shall make no further use of them ) in that he was ( confessedly ) a private person, and a Subject, it was evidence sufficient of the horridness of the Fact, that he did it. For, for a private man to execute a power of Life and death, was an high presumption, and would amount to no less than Murder, if acted upon the Meanest and most Criminal Person in the world : But when to the Private-ness of the Condition, is added Subjection also, this adds a far greater aggravation. Had the Amalekite slain his equal, he had been a Murderer ; but the slaying his Superior, to whom he was lawfully subject, rendered him a Parricide. They that justify the power of Subjects over the Lives of their Lawful Superiors, had need find

out

out a *Logick*, that can verifie *Contradictions*; for such must that Doctrine necessarily maintain, that renders the same Persons *ad invicem*, towards each other, and at once, *Sovereign* and *Subject*; the *Subject* his own *Princes Sovereign*, and the *Sovereign* his own *Subjects Vassal*. So that the sin of *King-killing*, acted by the hands of *Subjects*, upon this bare account, amounts to no lesse than an *Usurpation of a Jurisdiction* inconsistent with all Principles or right Reason, and all Lawes, both of God and man, and renders the Person that is guilty of it, superlatively criminal, as one who forfeits his *Soul to God*, and his *Life to man*, by the guilt of the highest *Premunire* that can be incurred. This is the *first* emphatical *aggravation* of the Fact, from the *Person committing it*. Let *Saul* deserve to die never so justly, yet what Commiſſion had the *Amalekite*, a *private Person*, and his *Subject*, to kil him? And so *David* tels him :

————— *At tu indignus quid faceres tamen?*

[How wast not *[Thou]* afraid?]

II. The Fact is yet rendered more *hainous*, by the *Second Emphatical aggravation* in the *Text*, taken from the *Person slain, Saul*, under a *double Consideration* :

From the *Person murdered*, who was,

He was  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{Unctus.} \\ 2. \text{Unctus Domini.} \end{array} \right.$

I. He was *Unctus*, (in his *Civil Quality*) He was a Person solemnly separated from other men, an *Anointed King*. *Anointing* (or whatever Ceremony of Investiture is, (by the Customs of Particular Nations) equivalent thereunto) puts a Note of highest difference between the Persons dignified therewith, and others. *Three* high and honourable *Functions* in the Scripture were conferred by this Ceremony of *Anointing*, and all of them fenced and privileged from Injuries by virtue of that *Holy Oyle*; the *Priestly*, *Prophetical* and *Royal Offices*. Nor to instance in the *two former*, (upon which (whatever these confused times have suggested to the contrary) it were easie to prove, that God hath written a *Nolitetangere*, a Priviledge from common handling) to be sure the *Last*, (the *Royal*) is so highly secured by the holy Scriptures, that they exact from *Subjects* such a special Awe and Reverence towards *Kings*, as not only binds the *Hand* and *Tongue*, but

*Anointed.*

## The loyal Subjects Indignation,

but the very *Heart* also, to the *good behaviour*: Whence in the case of this very *Saul*, when he was once anointed *King*, the Holy Ghost puts the Brand of *Sons of Belial* upon all those who *despised* or *spake* contemptuously of him, *1 Sam. 10. 27.* And *Solomon* strictly forbids us to *curse*, or wish evil to the *King*, even in our very thoughts, *Eccles. 10. 20.* So that this Consideration was very effectually conducing to the aggravation of the *Amalekites* in the *Text*, and (in him) of every *King-killers* offence: For the consequence is *amiori ad majus*, undeniable. If the *lesser* injury may not be done to *Kings*, the *greater* may not. If our *Tongues*, nay *Thoughts* are not to injure *them*, much less our *Hands*.

And the Lords  
Anointed.

II. To strengthen this consideration further, *David* calls him not only *Unctum*, [*Anointed*,] but *Unctum Domini*, [*the Lords Anointed*] Which Title peculiarly relates him to God as his Vicegerent and Lieutenant, and enhanceth the sin of *King-killing* to the guilt of *High Treason against God* himself. That the Title of *the Lords Anointed*, is attributed to other *Kings* besides *Saul*, as to all the *Jewish Kings*, yea and *Heathen Kings* also (instance *Cyrus*, *Isa. 45. 1*) argues that the same security belongs to all other *Kings*, as being no less related to God, and commissioned under him: That *Supreme Authority* resides originally in the *Body of the People* as the *Fountain* of all just power, and is delegated to *Kings* from them, as their servants intrusted by them, and for male-administration accountable to them, is a Doctrine that favours so much of a spirit quite alien from the Scriptures, that I shall almost as soon turn *Mahometan*, as believe it. Surely in that the Holy Ghost calls them *Gods*, he cannot be thought to assign them an *humane Original*, without allowing the *Creature* a power (which he every where denies him) of conferring a *Divinity* upon the work of his hands. *Man*, whilst he attempts to make a *God*, doth no other, than the *Child*, that attempts with a *Bundle of Clouts*, to make a *Babe*. They that say to the works of their hands, ye are gods, *Hof. 14. 3.* are no other, than blasphemous *Idolaters*; and the gods they make, are *Elilim*, vain Idols, not *Elohim*, true Gods, *Jer. 16. 20.* *Psal. 96. 5.* Yea, it is a strong Scripture-consequence against the *Divinity* of such *Puppet-gods*; [*The workman made it, therefore it is not God, Hof. 8. 6.*] Of like nature is the *Presumption* of those men who undertake to make and unmake *Kings*, at their own pleasure; and that so great, that (in reference to this very claim) the

Not the Peo-  
ples.

*2f. 82. 6.*

Great

Great Antichrist is justly charged with *lifting himself up above all that is called God*, 2 Thes. 2. 4. And to *set up Kings without God*, (Kings of humane Constitution; contrary to Gods appointed Order of Succession) when it was acted by the Ten Tribes, in the case of *Jerobam*, and the succeeding *Kings of Israel*, is yoked (as a parallel piece of presumptuous impiety) in one and the same verse, with *making Idols of Silver and Gold*, Hof. 8. 4. Indeed a *God* and a *King* of mans making, are both alike, *Idols both*; and they that *make them*, are like unto them. It is *He* alone that *hath it to give*, who confers the least spark of Divinity, *Political*, as well as *Natural*: and he that saies to a *man* of his own setting up, *Thou art Gods Deputy*, first, robs the *True God* of that power, and then bestows it upon a *Counterfeit*. And although the Constitutions of some Nations, where *Popular Election* disposeth of the *Crown*, may seem to invalidate this Doctrine, I must tell you, that (besides that *ab initio non fuit ita*, the Original of all Governments was from *Paternal Jurisdiction*, and next that *hereditary Succession* (both appointed by God) and all Forms varying from those, are too novel to prescribe against an *ancient Constitution*) even there where *Election* (according to Law and Custom) designes the *Person*, Gods *Ordination* confers the *Power*, that he is invested withall; for *there is no power but from God*, Rom. 13. 1. In such Nations, the Kings may be *Electi Plebis*, the Peoples Elect; but when once regularly chosen, they become *Uncti Domini*, the Lords Anointed. And with this distinction, (though it may possibly be, *orthodox enough* to interpret St. Peters *ἐκπομπὴν κλίσσε*, (Pet. 2. 13.) of a person according to the *Laws and Customs* of a Nation *elected*, or acknowledged for *King*, that thereby he becomes (so far) an *Ordinance* or *Creature of man*: yet) when this *Creature of man* is so far *made*, as mans Votes. or Laws or Consents can make him, he receiveth (over and above this) by a Divine *Dixi*, a word of Authority, to make him the Object of conscientious Obedience, which the same Apostle intimates in the next words, *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake*, i.e. as considering the relation he hath to God. The *Body of Authority* is made by *Laws and Customs* of Nations, but the *Soul* of it is infused by God. *Prometheus* may make the *Image of a man of Clay*, but it is *Fire from Heaven* that must *animate* it, or it is but an *Image still*: So till the *Word of God*

Kings (even where elected by the People) are nevertheless,



**Gods Anointed.** *come to men*, (as our Saviour phraseth it, *John 10: 35.*) and say *Ye are Gods*, they are but (as *Sampson* bereft of his Locks) *like other men*: But when once Gods *dixi*, is past, then, and then only, this *ἀρχαῖον νόμος* this Ordinance of man, becomes *ἡ ἀρχαία* *θεῶν*, the Constitution and Ordination of God, *Rom. 13. 2.*

It is true indeed, that (for the ascertaining of mens Consciences in the Object of their Civil worship) Gods *dixi*, alwaies concurs with the just and lawful Issue of Humane Constitutions and Customs, so that God hath given us this Infallible Note, to discern who is *Unctus Domini*, his Vicegerent and Deputy, that he comes to govern according to the Laws of the Kingdom. But yet you may not ascribe the Authority he hath, to the Laws which assert his Right, but to God, whose Constitution enables those Laws to determine in so weighty a matter.

And therefore  
not subject to  
their Jurisdic-  
tion when  
once admitted.

And hence, it will not follow, that the Peoples consent (which made those Laws, upon the determination of which the divine Constitution is necessarily attendant) renders the Person invested with Authority according to those Laws, at all, much less altogether, dependant upon the People for that Authority; and that therefore in case of male-administration, he may be unmade by them who made him, more than it will follow, that because (according to the standing Law of Nature) the rational Soul is necessarily annexed to the Substance of the Body, in the instant of Generation; therefore we owe our Spirits to our Parents, as well as our Bodies, or that (upon that Supposition) the Natural Parent may dismiss the Soul of his Child from the Body at his pleasure, which he is supposed to have by generation conferred upon it. But rather (as in Nature and Reason the Soul of man, however necessarily tied to the order of Nature in generation, is yet *θεογενής*, Gods Off-spring, *Acts 17.* Not the Parents, and therefore may not be dislodged out of the Body without a Writ of Revocation, a *Redite Filii hominum*, from the Father of Spirits, for no man hath power over the Spirit, but only God that gave it, *Eccles. 8. 8.* 12. 7. So in the true and genuine reason of State-Government, (which is to be fetched from the Scriptures, not mens Politicks) Authority, which is *ἡ ἀρχαία θεῶν*, the Ordinance of God, (whatever necessary Connexion, by divine appointment, it have to humane Laws and Customs) cannot justly be separated from the Person, whom those Laws and Customs have invested with it, without an Act  
of

*Psal. 90. 3.*  
*Heb. 12. 9.*



of divine resumption. He that saith to Princes, *Ye are Gods*, makes them (in a Political sense) what he saies they are, *Civil Deities*, and such they must continue, till by a like *dixi* or word of *Repeal*, he unmake them again. And the resolution which Conscience must expect, to determine herein also, must be fetched from the Laws Umpirage in all Nations.

Now from this *Dixi* of God, this Divine Constitution it is, that the *Persons of Kings* have in all places and ages been accounted *Sacred*. This *Unction from the Holy One*, (give me leave so to call it in allusion to that of *St. John*, though by him used in another sense, 1 *John* 2. 20.) secures them from the gripes of rude hands, with a *Nolite tangere*. For so (though that Text directly relates to Gods wonderful preservation of the three Patriarchs, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and that under the Notion of Gods *Prophets*, under which Relation God expressly cautions *Abimelech*, *Gen.* 20. 7. And that Passage, it is more than probable, the Psalmist had in his eye, when he penned it) the Argument which God useth, *Psal.* 105. 15. for the Priviledge he gave them, that they were *Uncti Domini*, will necessarily extend the security there claimed for them, to all who are partakers of a like Unction: [*Touch not* saith he, *mine Anointed*] by that known Logical Maxim, *A quatenus ad de omni valet Argumentum*. A consideration, which so far prevailed with *Holy David*, that his heart smote him, in the Cave, for only cutting off the Skirt of King Sauls Garment, as if the favour of the Divine Unction by descending (as it is said of *Aarons*, *Psal.* 133. 2.) to the Skirts of his Garment, had communicated its Tincture so far to the Royal Robe, as to mind him by the Sent it left upon his very fingers ends, that he had made too bold with the *Lords Anointed*, 1 *Sam.* 24. 5. And therefore, no wonder, if he charge it so home upon this *Amalekite*, who had with a murderous touch assaulted that Body that wore it.

*Obj.* True, (will the *Anti-monarchist* say) whilst Princes keep to the *Rules* by which they are to govern; but if they transgress them, do they not thereby forfeit their Priviledge, and become as other men; yea, far worse, by being *Tyrants*: Is it not lawful to kill a Tyrant, that preys upon the Lives and estates of his Subjects, like a wild Beast let loose, and makes use of Gods Authority committed to him, to secure himself in such intolerable Abuses?

*Sol.* To which I answer,

But Sacred & secured by Divine Ordination

And that although abusing their Power against the Laws, and turning Tyrants.

which is,

Proved by several Arguments.

1. Was not this very *Saul* as properly a *Tyrant* in this kind, as any recorded in Scripture or History? Was he impowered by the Law of God (by which he was to govern, *Deut.* 17. 14, 15. &c. to the end) to persecute an innocent *David*, as he did? or to attempt the murder of his own Son *Jonathan*, as he did? *1 Sam.* 20. 33. Or, was he impowered to destroy a whole City of Priests, for the supposed offence of one *Ahimilech*, as he did? *1 Sam.* 22. 18. Was he impowered by that Law to do many other irregular Acts, which *Samuel* reckons up by way of Prophecie concerning him, when he made him King? *1 Sam.* 8. 11, 12. And yet was he still *Unctus Domini*, under the Protection of his Divine Unction, and not to be touched with a violent hand.

2. There is a twofold Tyrant, *Tyrannus Titulo*, & *Tyrannus exercitio*, a Tyrant for want of a just Title to govern, and a Tyrant by unjust Acts in his Government, though his Title to Government be never so just. He that is *Tyrannus Titulo*, and hath no Title to govern, an *Usurper*, hath no *nolite tangere*, no divine Protection from his Unction, no touch not mine Anointed, to secure him.

And (although it be not (in my judgment) a safe Principle, which permits every private Person to destroy such a Tyrant, (seeing hereby private men are made competent Judges of Sovereign Rights, and the most Lawful Prince cannot be safe, if that be allowed) yet) no question, the Collective Body of a Nation, headed by an *Usurper* against the general sense of those who have the ordinary power of interpreting and executing Laws, may (upon their call) rise up against, dispossesse, and bring him to condigne punishment to make way for the Lawful Prince unjustly excluded.

But where a Prince lawfully intitled to his Government, is yet *Tyrannus exercitio*, abuseth that Government, to unjust and illegal Barbarities, (though herein he offend as highly against God, as it is not easily imaginable, how any one can more, because he defaceth (the most glorious Image of God) himself; and reflects the partnership of his guilt upon God, whom he represents, as authorizing him to such enormities, which the power received from him (only) capacitate him to act: yet) is he still, because of the Anointing, a privileged person, not to be violated by thy hands, or mine, whatever evils we suffer under him, and what capacity

capacity soever we may be in, to revenge them. I will evidence this to you by a familiar Instance: *Adulterated Coyne*, that bears the *Princes Image*, without the warrant of his own *Mint*, to attest it, any man may refuse to receive in payment, and knock to pieces, or nayl to a Post, because it is adulterate. But *good and lawful Coyne* stamped by *just Authority*, how much soever it may be battered or defaced, whilst any Print remains of the *Royal Inscription* to declare it such, may challenge a free passage, and may not be refused, or wilfully abused. So (whatever becomes of *Tyrants by Title*, who bear Gods superscription only by adulteration, and are meer *By-blows* of Supremacy) those that are not so, (however *Tyrannous* actions may blemish and deface them, yet) because they are the Legitimate Issue of a Divine Commission, and so truly *Filii Excelsti*, the *Sons of the most High*, having the true stamp of his Image upon them, must be still owned as such, and respected according to their Authority.

3. But be it supposed, that (notwithstanding all that is said) such a *Forfeiture* may be made, as the Objectors pretend; I would fain know, who shall be *Judge*, when, and by what Acts this *Forfeit* is incurred: Shall the *Prince* himself? I doubt they will think that unreasonable, because in this case he is a *meer Party*, and so will undergo the suspicion of Partiality to himself, from a Principle of Self-Love.

Who must then? The *Collective body of the Subjects*? And do not the Objectors see that the same reason excludes them? Will not the Principle of Self-Love, and Self-revenge be as apt to corrupt them, in taking cognisance of the Injuries they feel? But there is an higher exception against them yet; and that is the offending *Israelites* Question to *Moses*, *Who made thee a Judge?* *Exod. 2. 14.* By what Law either Divine or humane, (was the Question of our Late martyred Sovereign) can the Subject be empowered to sit in Judgment upon his King? And indeed, as there is no such Law, so is it most unreasonable there should be: For, grant the Subjects such a power, and considering the prevalency of prejudices against Governours, and the frequency of successful attempts of ill-meaning persons, to spread those prejudices, together with the incapacity of the People to know and judge of the true reason of State-Actions, &c.) and tell me, whether it would ever (in likelihood be the felicity of any King (how just soever) without a

D

Miracle,

*The loyall Subjects Indignation,*

miracle, to escape being deposed or murdered, at one time or other by his subjects. The Complices and Partners in guilt of every mal-factor whom he hath put to death, though never so justly, would before a Popular Judicatory arraign him for *Murther*; the persons concerned in *confiscated Estates*, would Indite him for *theft and robbery*: the *Fanatick* punished by his Laws, for never so horrid *Blasphemies*, and pretended consciencious *Conspiracies*, &c. would prosecute him for a *Persecutor*: insomuch that the only way for a King to be secure in such a Kingdom, were to *let all justice go at sixes and sevens*, and then he would be obnoxious to the displeasure of none but (those, who though by this dissolution of Government they would be the deepest Sufferers, yet by their conscientious Principles are remotest from all likelihood of revenging themselves upon their Sovereign) *the truly Godly*. Nay (I will speak a big word for once) it would be hard for the most righteous Governour of the whole world, to carry himself so inoffensively towards his Subjects, but that the major part of them, were his actions to be scanned by their Judgement, would think it fit to Vote the reins out of his hand for male-administration.

And if neither Prince nor subjects in general be fit to determine in this Controversie, who shall then? Will they say, the Representatives of the People? If so, in what capacity shall they undertake it? Not of *Inferiors* surely, or *Equals*; for *par in parem* (much less *inferior in superiorem*) *non habet imperium*. Of *Superiors*? From whence shall they derive that power? If from *Law*, shew that Law? If from *popular election*, then their power can be no other then before was in the *body collective* by whom they are chosen; so that except the people be superiour to their Sovereigns (which hath before been disproved,) they cannot delegate that superiority to others, which they never had themselves.

And now there remains only one *shift* imaginable for the judging this case: and that is recourse to a *Forreign power*, which indeed is so farre from amending the matter, that it makes it farre worse. For (besides that *Sovereign Princes are equals in Authority*, (though not in *Dominions* it may be) and so the former maxim recurs, *Par in parem non habet imperium*, and that none is likely (because of the *precedent*) to be courted to such an Employment, (except the *Pope*, who challengeth a Supremacy over Princes as Christs universal Vicar, and whose claims in this kind have been over and over

over refused :) how shall a *Forreign Prince* be enabled to *exercise this Jurisdiction*, but by the *success of a Warre*? And for subjects to call in a *Forreign force* to arbitrate the differences between *them* and their *Sovereign*, what can it amount unto but the highest of *traiterous Conspiracies*?

4. (and lastly) Suppose the *case* were *unquestionable*, and the *forfeiture* made and justly so judged, yet, to whom doth the *seizure* upon this forfeited Authority belong? Not to *man* (certainly) for it hath been before proved that all *Authority* is *Gods Ordinance*, a *Flower of his Prerogative*, a *Jewel of his Crown*, and so can fall (upon forfeiture) only into his hands who derived it. So that it will clearly follow, that if God himself (for the chastisement of a sinfull people, or for other holy ends of his own) shall think fit, for a while, not to enter upon the forfeiture, it will be high presumption in any men to precipitate the judgement of God, and enter before his time (though in his Name and right) upon his peculiar. Hence the *Saints of God* in former and latter times, have suffered under the bloodiest Tyrants with admirable patience, as under *Gods scourges*, and referred their cases to him who judgeth uprightly: and even in their complaints to him, have expressed so much *Christian temper and moderation*, that they have rather praied for the *conversion and pardon* of their persecutors, than wished *vengeance* upon them. And when they have foreseen the vengeance coming, have not desired the wofull day, Jer. 17. 16. but deprecated it rather: However (to be sure) they never put forth their hands to the iniquity of self-reparation, but patiently expected the coming of the Lord, Ja. 5. 6, 7. And upon this ground David checks the forwardnesse of Abishai, (who offered him the service of smiting Saul dead) Destroy him not, for either the Lord shall smite him (with a disease) or his day (in the course of nature) shall come to die, or he shall descend into the battel and perish: but the Lord forbid that I should stretch forth my hand against the Lords Anointed, 1 Sam. 26. 8, 9, 10. And yet (which makes this Answer more considerable) the Crown of Saul was not only actually forfeited, but adjudged so by God himself, and the reversion of it bestowed upon David, 1 Sam. 15. 28. Notwithstanding all which, you see, the holy man will not be persuaded to make a forcible entry, but waits till God by his providence devolves that upon him which he had demised by promise.

Obj. It will be farther objected, that this privilege belonged in-  
Obj.

## The loyal Subjects Indignation,

This priviledg  
belongs not to  
Jewish Kings  
only, but all  
other Kings.

*Sol.*

deed to *Jewish Kings*, but it may be doubted, whether the *Gospel* (introducing a *state of Liberty*, beyond that which the *Jewes* enjoyed,) the same immunity belong to *Princes* since the *coming of Christ*?

*Sol.* To which I answer again,

1. That *Gospel liberty* dissolves not *Natural* or *Civil* duties: and those that think it does, make it a *cloak of maliciousnesse*, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13, 16.

2. That the immunity of *Jewish Kings* belonged not to them as such, but as *Gods Anointed*, as *deputed Gods* under the *most high*. And the *Gospel* owns the *Supream power*, even in the hands of *persecuting Heathens* as an *Ordinance of God*, *Rom.* 13. 2.

3. And it is evident that the *ancient Christians* thought so, who after they had adventured their lives in the field for *persecuting Emperours*, as *Souldiers*, laid them down for their *Religion*, in obedience to their commands (though unjust and barbarous) as *Martyrs*.

3.

And thus have I dispatched the *second consideration*, (that of the *person slain*) made use of in the *Text* for the *second Aggravation* of the *sin of King-killing*: that *Saul slain* was not only *Unctus*, an anointed King, by his civil *Quality*, but *Unctus Domini*, one who was *Gods Vicegerent*, by sacred *Relation*. And (by consequence) am now at liberty to insist a while on the *third Aggravation* taken from the *fact it self*, as the *Text* states it. And that is represented notoriously foul by *three things*.

From the *Nature* of the  
*Fact*, as  
*Bloody*.

1. That it was in its nature bloody. He *destroyed the Lords anointed*. It was not a murder intended only, nor a murder barely attempted without successe, but an *actual murder*. And yet, had he not effected it, the very attempt (considering the *quality* of the *Person*) had been so heinous a crime, that the *Laws of Nature* and *Nations* would have punished it with death. But here the guilt is infinitely aggravated by the *execution* of that which had been so highly criminal but to attempt. For a *King*, (however attempted against) whiles he is but *in being*, fills the *Royal Sear*, and *Heads* the *Commonwealth*, and animates all *Courts of Justice* by the *Authority* of his Name: yea, laies some restraint upon the most lawlesse and dissolute persons, on the account of a possibility of being called to account for their outrages and enormities. But the *actual taking away of a Kings life*, exposeth the empty *Throne* to the

next



next potent Usurper, silenceth the Laws, annulleth all deputed Powers, by the expiration of their Commissions, renders every man (in a sort) his own Master, and sets up (for the Time) as many Lords of misrule in a Nation, as there are evil-disposed persons in it. And although these evils are not equally felt in *hereditary Kingdoms*, as in *others*, (because in such *the King never dies*) yet, they are all equally chargeable upon all Regicides; seeing, that they do not all actually ensue, is no thank to *them*, but to the *publique constitution* rather; and the Fact in its own nature being every where of like pernicious tendency, and such as (even in the best constituted Governments) may give advantage of opportunity to the designs of those who shall desire to improve the alteration of affairs, to the subversion of the Fundamentals of Government, by which succession is secured; as we of these Nations have lately found by too sad experience. In which respect, the fact of this *Amalekite* was the more hainous, as being an *actual destroying* of the *Lords anointed*.

2. That it was a *voluntary* or rather *wilfull Act*. For he stretched forth his hand, and that with a purpose to destroy the King. Had the King accidentally rushed upon his drawn weapon, or had his armed hand, by impression from some external force, been made the instrumental cause of taking away the life of the *Lords anointed*, or any other like accident had rendred him the *destroyer of the King*, though *besides his intention*; it had been an *infelicity* to have been bewailed all the daies of his life: But to reach forth his armed hand to lend him a *voluntary wound*, with a purpose to take away his life, was a *crime*, not to be expiated with his life it self. Every sin receives its degrees of *sinfulness* from the degrees of *voluntariness* appearing in it. And the more hainous the sin is, the more aggravation doth it admit from the *concurrence of the will* in any sort, because the greater an *evil* is in it self, the more *perversion of the will* (whose only proper object is *good*) must there needs be, to render it capable of *choosing* it.

3. (and lastly) That it was committed *à propos*, he was not afraid to do it. A *modest, timorous* sinner hath so much (at least) of the appearance of *virtue*, as abates something of the odiousness of the sin he commits. But a very strange monster of wickedness must he needs be, who hath arrived at the unhappy pinnacle of *sinning dedolently*. To baffle shame, and muzzle fear, and stifle conscience in sinning,

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finning, implies a kind of *absolute Sovereignty* and *Dominion* in *wickednesse*, and renders the person so qualified, a kind of *omnipotent sinner*, and (by consequence) the most remote from all *possibility of repentance*. And such a *Wretch* doth *David* imply that man to be, whom neither *Religion* towards *God*, nor reverence to *Majesty* will restrain from so horrid a crime, as this of *destroying the Lords anointed*, let whatever can be pleaded on his behalf: Which brings me to the *second* particular evidence which *David* gives to the *Quid* or matter of his *Answer*, (the *first* General part of my Text) which hath waited a long while for its dispatch,

3.

The second particular evidence in reference to the matter of *David's* reply (or the doctrine of the *hainousnes* of *King-killing*) The invalidity of all Pleas made for it.

And that is, [*the invalidity* of all that had been, or might be pleaded on this malefactors behalf,] implied in the connexion of this *sowre* and *severe expression*, with the *Amalekites* garb and *Narrative*, before improved for his *vindication*. Notwithstanding all which *David* pronounceth him guilty of the horrid sin of *murdering the Lords anointed*, and sentenceth him accordingly. To clear the *Justice* of which *Censure* and *Sentence*, (seeing it will much conduce to the main Hypothesis [*the setting forth the horrid wickednesse of King-killing*] and be of much use to us in our application) we will consider every one of his *real* or *possible Pleas* apart, and answer them in their order. His own *pleas* are seven (before mentioned) to which we will adde one made by *Interpreters* of this Scripture; and that shall be the *first*.

The *Amalekites* pleas answered

Plea 1.  
answered,  
(which is the  
plea of *Interpreters* for  
him.)

First, (though the *Amalekite* pleads it not, yet) there may be a *Question* made, Whether the *Holy Ghost* in the relation of *Saul's* death, 1 Sam. 31. 4, 5. do not acquit him of having any hand in the *Fact*, though he (in hope of reward) might take it upon himself? For the story tels us, that when *Saul* had desired his *Armour-bearer* to do him the kindness to dispatch him, and he had refused, *Saul* took a sword and fell upon it: and that he died of that wound by his own hand, seems probable by what is immediately subjoined, that *Saul's Armour-bearer* seeing that he was dead, fell likewise upon his own sword and died. From hence (with much likelihood) some *Interpreters* confidently acquit the *Amalekite* from the *Fact*. Nor shall I much contend with them about it, seeing I shall (upon other accounts) clear *David's* justice upon him anon. Though I might tell them that there is no cogent reason to demonstrate a contradiction between the relation of the *History*, and the *Amalekites* *Narrative*. For what if *Saul* fell upon his own sword, and the *Amalekite* sayes



sayes he found him *leaning upon his Spear*? Both may be true; he might (first) *fall on his own Sword*, and (that not dispatching him) might scramble up again, and make a *Second Attempt* with his *Spear*, but could not make way through his *Coat of Mayle*, as the Margin to v. 9. renders his words to the *Amalekite*. And what if it be subjoynd, after his *falling on his Sword*, that his *Armour-bearer* saw that he was dead? Doth it therefore follow, that he died immediately of that Wound? The *Armour-bearer* might conclude him dead, seeing him so wounded and *fallen*; when yet he might struggle longer with death, then he imagined, and *out-live* him that thought him dead, even till the *Amalekite* came, and finding him in that sad posture, killed him outright.

But (however) be it that the *Amalekite* did the *Fall* indeed, or only *boasted* (in hope of reward) *that he had done it*; yet received he no wrong from David. For,

1. *Voluntary Confession* (especially, where no Force is used to extort it, upon publick arraignment, in the presence of a Judge) is *Conviction sufficient*, to justify the condemnation of the person confessing.

2. Abundance of *Circumstances* there were to confirm David in the belief of it: As,

1. That he was an *Amalekite*, and so one that upon a *National quarrel*, might be supposed to owe *Saul* a Mischief, who had put the whole Nation of which he was, excepting only himself, and some few more (it is probable) carried away contrary to Gods Command alive for Slaves, 1 Sam. 15. And it may be (upon this account, in his Examination) David asked him again, *whence he was*? V. 13. (though in his Relation of the Discourse between *Saul* and himself, he had let fall no less before) that he might judicially confess that Circumstance, so necessary to his Conviction, upon Deliberation.

2. The *Crown* and *Bracelet*, which were known to be *Sauls*, gave evidence, that in all probability, he had the Rifling of *dead Saul*, and probably, might *kill* him, that he might *plunder* him.

3. That whether he *committed the Fall*, or no, yet was he guilty of it, *in intention* (at least) otherwise he would not have made so formal a story to gain from *David* the reputation of having done it, and related it with a kind of *glorying* in it, as an act of *merit* towards *David*. Infomuch

# The loyal Subjects Indignation,

Insomuch, that if he were not really guilty of the Fact, David was upon these evidences, *guiltless of his Blood*, and as he tels him, *V. 16. that his Blood lay upon his own head.*

And thus hath the first Plea made by Interpreters on his behalf, no other strength than this, *to give farther evidence to the horrid guilt of King-killing*, even though it be granted. For if that person justly died for it, who had (as the Plea supposeth) *no other guilt* of the Royal Blood upon him, than that he esteemed the shedding of it a *meritorious Service*, and shewed his willingness to have done it, by *boasting that he had done it*: What a dreadful Crime must it be, to be guilty of the Fact indeed? the very Intimation of a *good will* whereunto, rendered this *Amalekite* so criminal.

His own seven  
Pleas answered.

*Et passa est Pœnas peccandi sola voluntas?*

Plea 2.  
Answered.

But it may be further said (as was before urged) that *Saul* was a *Tyrant*, a *Persecutor of David*, and his *deadly Enemy*. And it is hard measure that he should die by *Dauids Command*, who had by this very Fact saved *Dauids Life*.

To this, the Answer (from *Dauids Principles*) is easie: He was indeed *Dauids Enemy*, but he was *Dauids Sovereign*, and the *Lords Anointed*. Besides, Had *David* been so desirous to be rid of his Enemy in such a way, he needed not to have left that work to be done by an *Amalekite*, seeing he had refused such a *Service*, when offered by *better Friends*. Lastly, If he were *Dauids Enemy*, he ought the rather to do him *Justice* upon his *Murderer*, that he might declare himself in the execution of Law the more *impartial*; and learn others, that the *private Injuries* received from our *just and lawful Sovereigns*, ought to make no *Impressions* upon our *Allegiance to the Lords Anointed*.

Plea 3.  
Answered.

But *Saul himself desired him* to put an end to his miserable life, (the *Amalekites Second Plea*)

Grant this too. But was he *Saul*, that is, *himself*, when he desired it; Fear, and Guilt, and Anguish, and Loss of Blood and Spirits, and (it may be, over and above) an *evil Spirit from the Lord* (with which he was wont to be haunted) may be supposed at this time, to *intercept the exercise of his Reason*. And is it the part of a *Sober man* to kill another at his *Request*, when he is out of his wits, and understands not what he saies? Will no Law allow a *mad-*  
man

man to dispose of his *Goods and Lands*, and will it warrant him to dispose of his *Life*? Besides, Who is there that thinks himself obliged to gratifie the desires, or obey the Commands of a *private Person in distemper*, by easing him of his Life, whenever he thinks it a burden? How much less, when the case concerns a *publick Magistrate*, whose Life and Death are of publick concernment, and the Lives of whole Nations are bound up in his? So that the *best obedience*, in such a case as this, had been, by Principles of Religion and Reason to have endeavoured the *reducing of his Sovereign to a sober temper*, and till that could have been effected, to have taken from him all *Instruments of death*, bound up his wound, and saved his Life (as far as in him lay) though against his Will.

And be it (which is his third Plea) *that the case seemed never so desperate; and the wound he had given himself, never so mortal in appearance, yet so long as Life remained, all hopes were not vanished.* How many persons have recovered, whom the best Physicians and Chyrurgions have given over for desperate? He should have endeavoured his best, and then if *Success* had not answered the endeavour, the endeavour (which was his duty) would have cleared his *Loyalty*, both before God and man. Besides, Nature and Reason incline every man to a desire of enjoying his Friends, *as long as possibly he can*, though all *Prognosticks* assure him, that enjoyment cannot be long. We do not think a *Cordial* cast away upon a *near Relation*, the utmost effect whereof, we are assured, cannot be more, then to *respite death for a few minutes*. To be sure, *all Nations* that are never so little reclaimed from Barbarism, would with one mouth condemn him, who when a dear friend lies *struggling with the pangs of death* it self, should *knock him on the head*, to put him out of his Pain. And therefore, what in a like case, had been *unlawful* for the *Amalekite* to have done to a *private Relation*, was *notoriously criminal* towards the *Lords Anointed*.

If it were (as he farther alleadged) really true, *that the Philistines were in never so hot a Pursuit of the flying King, yet had this Amalekite no warrant to kill him for prevention:* For, might not Providence have led them *another way*, and suffered none of them to light upon that place where he lay? The *Divine Protections* of Sovereign Princes are many times of kin to Miracle. *Great deliverances* given to his Kings, and *sheweth mercy* to his Anointed,

Plea 4.  
Answered.

Plea 5.  
Answered.

*The loyall Subjects Indignation.*

Pfal. 18. 50. Again, admit, he were never so much in danger of falling into the hands of his pursuing enemies, yet who knowes, but he might have lighted into the hand of some *Noble Personage*, that (in honour) would have spared the *Royal Blood*, and thought it more generous, to take a King *Captive*, then (in cold Blood) to have murdered him, when he was not capable of resistance? Or if it had been the Lot of a *Mercenary Souldier* to have lighted upon him, might he not have endeavoured the 'Preservation of such a *Noble Prisoner* in hope of a *Ransom*? Nay, had this *Amalekite* been sure, that all the *Philistines* were so barbarous, that never an one of them, would have saved the *Kings Life*, out of hatred to his *Religion*, as well as *Person*; yet (had he consulted either the honour of his *Soveraign dying*, or the safety of his *Soul* after death) it had been far better for him to have left him to their *Swords*, then to perform his Request with his own. For had an *Uncircumcised Philistine* for his *Religious* sake, slain him, his death had been his *Infelicity*, but not his *guilt*: Nay, those hands that slew him upon that account, had advanced him to the honour of *Martyrdom*; whereas, to die precariously, by the hands of a *Subject*, whom his own pusillanimous imtreary had prevailed with, to take away his life, rendred him a cowardly self-murderer (by *Proxie*) and lost him not his *Life* only, but his *Honour*, and ('tis to be feared) his *Soul* together. Besides, If this Principle be but admitted, [That it is not criminal to take away a *Kings Life*, provided it be done to prevent the killing of him by other hands,] How can any *Princes* life be secured? For may not any one of many *Conspirators*, justifie himself, (by this excuse) for killing the King, that he did it, to prevent his *Fellows*? And would it not be the greatest and subtillest piece of ambition that could be, in such a case, to be the first of a traiterous Crew, that should strike the mortal Blow, seeing he of all the Company, would be secured of *Indempnity*, upon this Principle, who could obtain the *precedency* in the horrid *Fa<sup>ct</sup>*? Nay, how easie would it be, for any person, (especially, if his own *Suspicions* may be admitted for evidence) to conceit a *Plot* against the *Kings Life* to be contrived by others, and then account himself at liberty to kill him for prevention? However, Suppose there could be a case in which so dangerous a Principle might be admitted, yet (surely) it must be the last *Refuge*, when a sufficient Trial hath been made of all *Means* to prevent that danger, which threatens

threatens a *Princes* Life, and all prove ineffectual. Had this *Amalekite* done his best to have saved him from the *Philistines*; had he put his *Shoulder* under his *fallen Sovereign*, to lift him out of the *common Road*, into some *by-place*, had he taken some course to disguise him, that the *Pursuers*, had they lighted on him, might not have known him to be the *King*; or any other way tried his utmost to secure him, he might with more appearance of Innocence, have done him this kindness at the very last, to have slain him himself. Was Mount *Gilboa*, or the Coast near it, so barren of *Bushes*, or *Pits*, or *Thickets*, or *Hollow Trees*, or *Cottages*, that might have given a distressed King shelter, till the Pursuit was over; that no shift could be made, to shew a *Subjects Loyalty*, whatever the Success had been? Well fare the hearts of such Subjects, who in like exigences, would have tried 1000 homely Artifices, to have secured their *Liege Sovereign*, rather than have taken this course of preventing the cruelty of pursuing Enemies, by murdering him more charitably with their own Hands: And if none of them should have proved successful, would have stood by him, to the utmost of extremities, and then have opposed their own Breasts against the drawn Swords of bloody Pursuers, though they had been sure to die with him; as considering, that the Life of the *Lords Anointed*, was worth 10000 of theirs, and that (next him that dies for Gods-sake, there is none who comes so near the honour of *Martyrdom*, as he that dies for Gods Vice-gerents sake, his Lawful Sovereign.

Lastly, Had the *Philistines* killed him, they were in a double capacity more excusable than this *Amalekite*: For they were Conquerors in a Battel newly gained, and in the heat of pursuit; (and in National Wars, the Conquered forfeits his life to the Conquerors mercy) Nay, they were Subjects of another Countrey, and so Saul was to them but an Ordinary Person: But this Murderer was not only of the same conquered party with Saul, and so had no claim to a power of his life by the Success of the Day, but one of his own Subjects and Soldiers, raised for the defence of his Person, and so was obliged by all means (even with the loss of his own) to preserve (not take away,) the Life of his Sovereign and General, and the *Lords Anointed*.

It is probable enough (his Fifth Plea) that he came by the meer conduct of Providence, to the place of this sad Tragedy, and in his own Flight stumbled upon Saul unawares, and that the last he was

Plea 6.  
answered.

in to save his *own Life*, somewhat disordered his *Reason*, that he had not a *like* freedom of deliberating what was best to be done, *as at other times*. But yet he was an *Amalekite*, and there might be something of Enmity against *Saul*, — *Alia mente repostum*, upon the account of a *National Fend*, and in such a disposition (as malice useth to be *quickly up and ready*, when Providence offers an opportunity of retaliation) this time (how little soever it was) might be *long enough* to excite a desire of *Revenge*, together with a *Plot* to make it seem innocent, by pleading the *suddenness of the Accident* in its excuse. Besides, it may seem (by his own relation) that he was not in so much *hurry of thoughts* by the suddenness of the Providence, but that he had *Reason* enough left, to give a *direct Answer* to *Saul's Question*, V.7,8. and to *argue himself* into the Commission of that bloody Fact from the *Considerations* which he *pleads*, as moving him unto it; and that he was not in so much *hast*, but that he had time enough (by his own confession) to hold a formal Discourse with *Saul*, (too long (one would think) for a *dying* and a *flying* Person to dialogue together) and surely, he needed not much *longer time*, than he confessed he had, (especially, seeing he had *leisure* enough to inform himself, that the Person he discoursed with, was his *Sovereign*) to reflect upon his own heart this *Question*, [*What warrant have I to destroy the Lords Anointed?*] So that whatever his *hast* was to save his *own life*, he made *more hast than good speed* to take away *Saul's*.

Plea 7.  
Answered.

And though he would seem *free from any covetous design*, tempting him to such a Fact, that he might enrich himself with the *Royal Spoiles*; yet, who knows, but that it was *first in his Intention*, and the ground of his Action, though upon *second thoughts*, (considering how difficult it would be for him, a *private Souldier*, to make many of things so commonly known, without being questioned, *where he had them?* and that to bring them to the *next Successour*, might yield him more *profit*, than he could have *sold them for*) he afterwards thought it fitter to present them to *David*? However, (be it that he *had no intention to dispose of them any other way*, when he committed the Fact yet) was he not hereby much furthered in his excuse. For could he think, that an *Intention* honestly to dispose of the *Royal Ornaments*, would make a compensation for the *murder of him that wore them*? Surely, if so, he was *much out*, in bringing them to *David*, who had now reason to value a *Kings Life*.



Life higher than so; by the price he could not but set on his *own*. Nay more, he could not indeed have given more *loud evidence* against himself, than by bringing of those *Regalia*, he had done. For hereby he had cut himself off from a capacity of pleading *ignorance* of the *Person* whom he slew; which (if any) would have most iteaded him; for he could not but know, that the *Crown* he brought, was a *Badge of Sovereignty*, and therefore in killing him, on whose Head he confessed it was, he confessed that he knowingly killed the *Lords Anointed*.

Lastly, All the *Expressions of sorrow for the Fact*, with which he uttered in his *Relation*, might be but *feigned and formal*: Or if not so, yet what proportion was there between a *base Varlets Tears*, and *Royal Blood*? It was well that he mourned for the *Infelicity* of his Fact; but it would have been better, if he had repented of the *wickedness* of it. And if (seeing how it was like to go with him) he might *plead that also*; he must know, that *repentance*, though it may avail a *murderer* towards the obtaining of his *pardon from God*, yet it is not a Plea sufficient to indemnifie in a *Court of humane Justice*. *Murderers*, especially, such *Atrocious Murderers*, justly die, by Gods Law and mans, though truly *penitent*. The *Tears of Repentance* may do much towards the reparation of a mans *own Innocence*, but can do nothing towards a reparation for *another's Life*.

Plea 8.  
Answered,

In a word, if indeed he *repented* of the fact, he could not but be willing to *prevent* (as far as in him lay) the spreading of the *leaven of his example* to infect others with a like guilt: and the effectuallest course to *prevent* such crimes for the *future*, is the exemplary punishment of those who have *taught* the world to *commit* them.

And thus have we dispatched the *first part* of the Text (with its referenceto the *hypothesis* of the *Chapter*, and the *Doctrine* couched in it, *The hainousnesse of the sin of murdering Kings*.) Come we now to the *two remaining*, which (in the *person* expressing his sense of it, and the *manner how* he expresseth it) contain the substance of those *practical Inferences* which it affords for *Application*. And we will begin with the *second part*.

Secondly, *Quis*, or [the person expressing his *deep sense* of this horrid Fact,] *David*, who may herein be exemplary to after-Ages, in the *twofold Consideration*, wherein the distribution of my Text represented him.

Part 2.  
*Quis*, or the  
Person thus re-  
plying, *David*.

I. Consider

Considered,  
according to  
what he was.  
In his personal  
Capacity,

An eminent  
Saint,

I. Consider him according to *what he was*, in a twofold Capacity.

1. As a *man*, (in his *personal capacity*) and so I told you before he was a *truly pious person*; an *eminent Saint*, and for nothing more *eminent*, then for *tenderneſſe of Conſcience*.

That he was a *person truly pious and eminent for Saintſhip*, is demonstratively evident in the *high characters* the Holy Ghost every where bestows upon him. *Gods servant David*, is a Title wherein (by the mutual, and that frequent enterchanging of it in Scripture) both *God* and *he* seem to delight. And such a *servant* God thought him, that he seems to *boast* of his *findings*, when he had met with him, as if the *like* were not to be found again, [*I have found David my servant*, Psal. 89. 20.] So good a *servant* he was, that (as another high expression carries it) God himself could hardly *wish* or *desire* a better, (allowing the imperfections incident to humane frailty) for he was [*a man after his own heart*], and one that would stick at none of his Commands, but do *πάντα θελήματα* all his wils. A man so good, that God takes measure of the goodness or badness of all his Successors, by the proportion or disproportion they bare to him: as being so far accounted good, as they walked in the way and steps of their Father David; and so far bad, as they departed from them; of which frequent Instances might be given, would time permit. Yea, so good, that the best of men that ever was (the Lord Jesus Christ) is by the Holy Ghost, called by the Name of David as his most suitable Type, Jer. 30. 9. Hosea 3. 5. Nor do the Characters given him in that kind, speak more then his *own practise* justified. Every morning, his *making thoughts conversed with God*, Psal. 139. 8. Yea, he was one, who (over and above the seventh day reserved by God for his publique service, which he as constantly attended, as the door-keepers of Gods house themselves, Psal. 84. 10.) consecrated seven petty Sabbaths a day to devotion, Psal. 119. 164. and broke his sleep at midnight to spend time in religious duties, Psal. 119. 62. and one of so raised a spirit in his pious meditations and devotions, that his remains have been ever since made use of, as *Forms of publick Devotion* in the Church, in which Notion he is called the *sweet Psalmist of Israel*, 2 Sam. 23. 1.

And for the *tenderneſſe of his conscience*, there needs no other evidence, then (that one instance already touched at) the disturbance he felt in himself for cutting off but one thred of Sauls garment,

and notably  
tender-Con-  
ſcienced.



ment, though done for a testimony of his own innocency, 1 Sam. 24. 5.

This is the person, whom the relation of this *Amalekite*, concerning his murdering of *Saul*, doth so transport into an holy passion, that he cries out, *How wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thy hand to destroy the Lords Anointed?*

And herein he sets a fair copy for all persons who pretend to *Sainthood*, and plead *Tenderneſſe of Conſcience*, to write after: and gives us of this *Age* a liberal occaſion to wonder at that *new-fashion'd*, or rather *new-fangled* garb of *Sanctity*, which ſome have aſſumed to cloak the actual guilt of farre more horrid Villanies, than this (the very relation whereof ſo ſtartled *David*) in my Text; and at that paradoxical notion of *tenderneſſe of conſcience*, which admits *Murthers* and *Treaſons* of the moſt horrid aggravation imaginable, into the reputation of moſt *heroical vertues*, and *elevated acts of Religion*. For ſurely, if *David* were ſuch an *eminent Saint*, theſe perſons who ſo directly walk *Amipodes* to his principles and practice, can paſs with all ſober Chriſtians for no other then *incarnate devils*: and if *David's Conſcience* were ſo truly and remarkably tender, the Conſciences of theſe men muſt needs be harder than *Adamants*, and ſeared into an incurable *dedolency*, whoſe principles and tempers carry ſo irreconcilable a contradiction to his, and that in a matter of ſo high a concernment as *blood*, and that not of ordinary perſons, but of the *Lords Anointed*.

2. Conſider him as a King (in his politick and publick capacity,) which by *Saul's* death he was now veſted withall. The Intelligence which this *Mifcreant* brought him (it is probable) gave him the firſt glimpe, the firſt intimation of the actual devolution of the Crown upon him: and now, as a publick Magiſtrate, he gives the Relator himſelf the firſt handſell of his new Royalty, a ſevere increpation in the Text, and a deſerved execution in thoſe that follow. And a like piece of Juſtice doth he (a while afterwards) execute upon the murderers of *Iſhbobaſeth* the ſon of *Saul*, who had for two years been ſet up by a Faction, as Competitor with him in the Kingdom, chap. 4. Examples, followed by *Amaziah King of Judah*, upon the murderers of his father *Joah*, 2 King. 14. 5. and very ordinarily to be parallell'd in all Hiſtories, wherein there is no piece of Juſtice more commonly taken notice of, then the ſevere inquisition and recompence made by ſucceeding Princes, for the blood of their

In his politick Capacity (by the death of *Saul's* King.

(Upon occasion whereof,

their *Predecessors*. And indeed, both the *Law of God* (which admits no compensation for *humane blood*, but the *blood of him that sheds it*, and that upon good reason too, because in the murder of man the *Image of God* is defaced, *Gen. 9. 6.*) allows and requires this severity, in such cases: and the *Law of man* conformably allows an exemplary addition of *pœnal circumstances*, to that severity in the case of *King-killing*, upon weighty reason, seeing in that *prodigious crime* there is a defacing of a *double Image of God*, both Natural and Political. So that if it were possible to inflict a *double death* upon such malefactors, their *double*, yea, *manifold guilt* (for he that murders a *Supream Magistrate*, virtually and in effect, murders a *Community*) would abundantly justify the rigour of such an execution.

*Juxta Sat. 8.*

*Horum supplicio non debuit una parari  
Simia, non serpens unus, non culeus unus.*

One death (indeed) is too little for such *Paricides*, as kill the *Father of an whole Kingdoms*. Severity in such a case, is such a piece of *righteousness*, as *establisheth the Throne* (*Prov. 16. 12.*) by scaring those of succeeding Ages from doing so presumptuously.

The severe circumstances of the execution of Traitors, justified.)

Upon consideration whereof, as *those Princes* are abundantly justified, who in this piece of justice follow *Dauids example*; so are *those persons* as much to be blamed, whose either *good nature*, and *softness of disposition*, or *evil Principles*, and *partnership of guilt*, prejudiceth them against the *severe executions of Regicides*, which humane *Laws every where appoint*, and humane *Authority (in terrorem)* for others terrour, *somtimes practiseth*. For it is but meer, that *exemplary severity* should teach men the difference between the value to be put upon the persons of *Princes*, and *Subjects*: Otherwise *Assassinations* would be as frequently acted upon *Sovereigns*, as *Murders* upon *Private men*; yea, hardly would any *King* that hath an *enemy* daring enough to adventure a *bare life*, be translated into Heaven *siccâ morte*, with an unbloody death. Whereas (on the other side) experience tels us, that those who can condemn a *single death*, yet dread it clothed with such *Circumstances*, as carry a *Brand of eternal ignominy* with them, by a *Blot* upon the *Memory*, and a *Tincture* upon the *Bloud* to all posterity.

II. Consider

II. Consider *David* according to the *Presumptions on which the Murderer grounded his Confidence*, and we shall find an ample Ground, for the farther improvement of his Example herein. For, if a *David* persecuted by a *Tyrannous King*, and that without any colour of Justice, for so many years, be thus affected with the Murder of his *Implacable Persecutor*, if a *David*, who had fled to Arms for shelter, against his *Sovereigns unjust violence*, neither dared himself to use those Arms to the prejudice of his Person, when he had him within his power, nor would dismiss his *actual Murderer* without *exemplary vengeance*; and lastly, if the *undoubted right of Succession in his Throne*, and the *long expected news of an avoydance thereof*, could not soften the radicated Principles of Loyalty in *David*, so far, as to induce him to admit of a secret titillation of complacency in that *Fact*, when done to his hand, which made his way plain to the possession of a *just Royalty*, or sweeten him one jot towards the Person who had been the *Instrument of making room* for him: doth it not demonstratively follow, that all other Persons, (especially such as are not under the like probable Effects of Temptation in this kind) should be as slowly irreconcilable to the Agents and Principles, which are in the same condemnation, for prodigious impiety and flagitiousness? Especially, when it shall be considered, how *emphatically*, how *pathetically* *David* expresseth his sense of this horrid action, which I shall lay before your consideration in the handling of the *Third and Last Part* of my Text.

Thirdly, The *Quomodo*, or manner of *David's Expression* of the violence of those Passions, which he inwardly felt upon occasion of this Relation; which (as I told you before) is by way of sharp and cutting Interrogation.

And as he was mistaken by the confident Presumptions of the Murderer.

Part 3.  
*Quomodo.*  
Or the Manner how *David* answers.

Importing, { 1. Grief.  
2. Wonder.  
3. Horrour.

With

1. *Grief*. Which, how great it was in *David's Breast* upon *Grief*. this occasion, divers Particulars in the *Text* and *Context* express.

And those may be reduced to these two Heads;

(Evidenced in,

1. *Sudden Transports.*
2. *Deliberate and Solemn Acts.*

F

1. For

*The loyall Subjects Indignation,*His Deliberate  
and Solemn  
Acts.)

1. For Evidence of his *Sudden Transports*, let us but view the 11th. and 12th. verses; where we are told, that he *rent his cloaths*, and put all his *Court* into a like Posture of Mourning. *He mourns, and weeps, and fasts all that day until Even.*

2. For evidence of his *Deliberate and Solemn Acts*, to testify his hearty sorrow for this doleful accident, we find him, v. 17, 18. (as I told you in the Preface) penning an *Epicedium* or Funeral-Song, for the constant use both of *himself*, and the *People of Judah*, and commanding it to be set to a *Musical Tune*, and taught them; that this Lamentation might be perpetuated to all posterity. Nor was *Dauids* example in this kind altogether *barren*, for we find it afterwards followed by the *godly Jews*, upon occasion of the untimely death of *good Josiah*; they mourned so truly and heartily for him, that the greatness of their sorrow in after-ages grew into a Proverb, [as the mourning of *Hadadrimmon* in the Valley of *Megiddon*, Zech. 12. 11.] And among their Solemn Lamentations, had one kept on record to Posterity, penned by an holy Prophet, *Lam.* 4. 20. and perpetuated the solemn remembrance of that heavy stroke by publick Command: For so 2 *Chron.* 35. 24, 25. expresseth it at large: *All Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah; and Jeremiah lamented for Josiah, and all the singing men and singing womenspake of Josiah in their Lamentations to this day, and made them an Ordinance in Israel, and behold, they are written in the Lamentations.*

And afterwards, when *Gedaliah* the good Governour left by *Nebuzaradan*, was treacherously slain by *Ishmael*, *Fer.* 41. 1, 2. We find there was an *Annual Fast* appointed, and observed till after the return from Captivity, upon the *Moneth* wherein he was slain, as the most judicious Interpreters expound the *Fast of the 7th. Moneth*, Zech. 7. 5. Which Examples loudly call for like deep and solemn Impressions and Expressions of heartiest sorrow from all Loyal Subjects upon like Accidents, and abundantly justify the *Annual Solemnization of this Day*; (especially if we consider, how great a *Loss* these Kingdoms suffered, and how great a *Guilt* they contracted by the Lamentable Providence that occasioned it: Of which, more plentifully anon. Indeed the *Tears of Subjects* are the best *Spices* to embalm a *Sovereigns Memory* withal; nor can there be a louder attestation to the *Deserts of a Prince*, than that his *Loss* is bewailed as a *Common Calamity*. Upon which

which account it is, that God promifeth it as a fignal Mercy to the hopeful Son of wicked Jeroboam, that all Ifrael ſhould mourn for him, 1 Kings 14.13. and threatens it as a heavy judgment on Jehoiakim, the wicked Son of good Joſiah, that he ſhould be buried with the Burial of an Aſſe, thrown in a ditch, without any one to mourn or lament for him, neither Brother, nor Siſter, nor Subject, Jer.22.18,19.

2. Wonder and Aſtoniſhment, at the ſtrangenefs of the accident, Wonder, and boldneſs of the Villain, in firſt daring to act, and then, not bluſhing to relate that fearful wickedneſs. And fit it is that ſuch Monſters wherever they are found, ſhould ſtill ſet the whole world at gaze in a pious Amazement. Which Affection, however in it ſelf it be not ſo directly moral, as ſome others are, yet it conduceth very much to the exciting of that which is ſo, to wit, an holy ſhynefs and averſaion of mind towards thoſe Tentations, which we are before prepoſſeſſed againſt with a potent prejudice, as ſo many monſtrous and portentous Births of helliſh wickedneſs: Which apprehenſions whoſoever hath, concerning the deteſtable ſin of King-killing, will quickly improve it unto,

3. Abomination and Abhorrency: the third Paſſion, wherein David expreſſeth his ſenſe of this horrid Faët. For we may very well ſuppoſe that his tender and delicate Conſcience preſently took an Alarm from the Amalekites brazen-faced Relation, and rallied all the Spirits in his Body, to the Fort-Royal of his Heart, to fortifie it againſt the peſtilential breath of ſuch a prodigious Monſter; and thence it ſhot forth the Darts of fiery indignation in the Frowns of his Royal Countenance, and ſharpened every hair of his head into a Porcupines Quill, which extream horroure erected (as it were of purpoſe) to fly in the Face of the deteſtable Object. All this, and more, preſents it ſelf to our apprehenſion, in the Form of this ſtinging Interrogation, wherein, *Quit Verba, Tot Tonitrua*; every word is a Clap of Thunder, *How waſt thou not afraid to ſtretch forth thy hand to deſtroy the Lords Anointed?*

and Horroure  
or Abomination

And indeed, nothing leſſe than ſuch an Hyperbole of abomination will ſerve to expreſs, as it ought, the juſt ſenſe which thoſe who will imitate David in either of his forementioned Capacities, (whether of good men or good Magiſtrates) ought to have of that βδελυγμα τραπιδος, that monſtrous ſteam of Hell, and ſtench of the bottomleſs Pit, which breaths out of the mouths of thoſe unclean

*Beasts*, and *Lying Prophets*, (whose *Throats* are worse than an open *Sepulcher*) by whom the sin of *King-killing* (which *David* and every good man so startles at) is not only proclaimed *Lawful*, but extolled as *meritorious*; and much more, of that *ἀναπρία ἐπὶ νεκρῶν*, or *Abomination of Desolation*, (the *practice* of that monstrous *Principle*) when (especially) it shall be set up in the *holy place*, and worshipped in the thoughts of deluded Creatures, as a *distinguishing Character of eminent holiness*.

II.  
Second View  
of the Text.  
As accommoda-  
ble to the Oc-  
casion.

And thus (at last, have I done with the *Text*, as it relates to the *Chapter* and *Narrative* contained in it, together with the *Doctrine* and *Inferences* (in general) comprehended therein. It only remains, that I review them in this place, as they may be accommodated by way of *Parallel* to the sad occasion of this daies *Solemnity*.

The Parallel  
relating to the  
Parts of the  
Text.

And truly, when I thought of finding out a *parallel Text* of *Scripture* to the *Text of Providence*, which this sad day calls to our Remembrance, I must confesse, I found myself at an unusual loss. *Many Kings* deaths are recorded in Sacred *Writ*, and divers of them *violent* and *bloody*; and divers of them brought about by the hands of *Rebellious* and *Traiterous Subjects*. But to match all the *Circumstances* of the most execrable *Murder* of our *Late Gracious Sovereign*, I know none that can tolerably pretend unto it.

In the First,  
(expressing the  
Horridness of  
the Sin.)

That which my *Text* attempts towards it, lies rather in the parallel which should be between *Dauids Spirit* and *ours*, upon so sad an occasion (for which end mainly I made choice of it) then that which may be supposed between *Sauls Person* and *Death* and his *Majesties*, which are (almost altogether) *unparallelable*. And therefore in those short *Tonches of Collation*, which I shall bestow upon them, I must of necessity compare them, and what befall them, in their *discrepancies*; as that *Painter*, who to set off the vast bigness of an *Elephant*, draws a *Moose* by his side.

How far it  
holds:

&  
VWhere it  
hails, viz.

It is true indeed, that in *some of the aggravations* of the horrid murder committed upon them *both*, the *Parallel holds*. That *both* were *Kings*, *Anointed*, and the *Lords Anointed*, and *both murdered by Subjects*; but the *differences* are far more in the rest of the *Circumstances*, and those so *vast*, that the power of *Invention* can hardly bring them nearer to one another, than the *two Poles*.

I. Consider



1. Consider we the *Person Murdered* (our Late Gracious, and now *Glorious Sovereign*. A person (take him either as *Man*, or *King*) of a Temper so far different from *Sauls*, that as the one seemed to be composed of *Cruelty*, so the other seemed to have nothing in his Constitution but *Clemency*. A person (in both capacities, both of *Man* and *King*) so free, not only from the *guilt*, but even from the *suspicion* of any enormous Crime, that the malice of his Accusers themselves, could find nothing to stuffe out that *Black Charge* which they laid against him, but the unhappy *Contests* between *Himself* and his *Subjects* (the sad Issues of *mutual Jealousies*, blown up into an *open War* by a Divine *Blast* upon all those *Comsels*, which might have prevented it, and a just immifion of an evil *Spirit of Perverfities* to mingle with them, and render them ineffectual, for the just punishment of our *sins*) which indeed were his *Infelicity*, but their *guilt*, who first made the Breach, and afterwards (as much as in them lay) hindred the making it up, because their own Conscience of having unpardonably offended him, told them, they could expect no *Security*, but in his *Ruine*. A Person and *King*, of so elevated a size, both for *Intellectual* and *Moral* Endowments, that the stature of his *inward man*, as much overtopped the most accomplished of his *Subjects*, as *Sauls outward man* did overlook the rest of the *Israelites*, 1 Sam. 10. 23.

In the difference between the Persons murdered; King *Saul* & King *Charles*. (Occasioning a short Character of our late Sovereign.)

For his *Intellectuals*: He was endowed with such an height of *Phancy*, as would have won him the *Laurel* in a Commonwealth of *Poets*. He was Master of so sublime a *Grandeur* of Language, and stately *Majesticalness*, joyned with an amiable fluency of *Stytle*, as might have challenged a *Dictatorship* among the best of *Orators*; of which his *Royal Remains* are an indisputable evidence. And for *Soundness of Judgment*, both in Points of *Controversie*, and Cases of *Conscience*, he might have challenged the *Theological Chair*, upon the account of meer worth, and have sat not only *Regius Professor*, but *Rex Professorum*, in both *Universities*.

For his *Morals*: He was *Just*, *Valiant*, *Temperate*, *Chast*, *Merciful* (and what not?) to such a proportion, as he might have fet the best of his *Subjects* a Copy of vertue in his own example.

Indeed he was a *Prince* who might have passed clear with the universal reputation of the best of *English Kings*, had he not fallen into the *worst of Times*, wherein the *English Manners* were so debauched



*The loyall Subjects Indignation,*

bauched with the blandishments of a long continued tranquillity and plenty; and their judgements so intoxicated with prejudice, and censoriousness, that too too many neither loved the practice of vertue themselves, nor would willingly allow the reputation of it to others.

A King, whom if we had not by our sins rendred our selves unworthy to enjoy longer, we had been (it may be to this day) in danger of nothing more then being surfeited with our own felicity. And that we enjoyed him not, all the world must bear him witness, it was not his fault, seeing in that last and fatal Treaty (as Providence made it) at Newport, he shewed so great a desire in his Gracious Condescensions to make his people happy, that he even forgot he had any share of his own to challenge among them; having indeed given them all, but (what he could not part with) that Sovereign goodnesse of disposition, which was the only thing (almost) that he had left, besides the redintegrated affections of his people, (divers of whom began then to know him better, and therefore valued him the more, out of conviction that they had ignorantly persecuted him) to support his Throne withall. So that, I must needs say it was the fatal infatuation, and infelicity of these Nations, that they knew not in the day of their visitation the things that belonged to their peace: and therefore were they (by the righteous judgement of God) for a full decad of years and more, justly hid from their eyes.

*O fortunatos nimium bona si sua nôssent  
Anglicolas! —*

And for his Religion, This I think may safely be said without exception from any, but such as all Religions may blush to own, that if the employment of his serener hours were of a piece with the entertainment of his Solitudes and Sufferings; that man is not enough Christian himself, who can admit a dispute in his own bosom, whether he ought not to be ranked among the chiefest of Christians: or, if (as some suppose) his Afflictions were the School wherein he received the first elements of practical Piety, this (in deed and truth) is so far from being a disparagement to him, that it renders him so much more the subject of all good mens admiration and astonishment, for making so wonderfull a proficiency in so short a time, as the digesting into practice the whole Doctrine and Example of his  
Master

*Master Christ*, and especially so much as related to the *last passages* of his life, proclaims to all the world.

And if in some *modes* and other *circumstantial*s of his *Profession*, he pleased not *all men*, yea possibly might distaste some *good men*; yet (even in these) his *conscientious constancy* (and no other principle could prevail with him, when all his earthly enjoyments were apparently adventured to a desperate irrecoverableness by his adhering to them) ought not to be *displeasing to any*. Especially when we consider, how many *principles* and *prattises* of far greater *incompatibility* with *true piety*, must be allowed, to make the Religion of some persons current, who most disparage *His*.

And indeed, whatever we thought of him *living* (as to his Religion,) the consequences of his *death* too sadly evidenced, how much the *Protestant Cause* was concerned in his *preservation*: and especially, the sad face of this *Orphan-Church of ours*, which from that time forwards, became the lamentablest scene of *Anarchy* and *Confusion*, that ever was seen in the *Christian world*, not excepting *Munster* it self, that saw but the *prologue* to our *Tragedy*. For who knows not, that whatever *Persons* or *Parties* stepped up into this vacant Seat, made it the Master-piece of their *policy* (like self-seeking Chirurgions) to keep our *wounds* open, that they might keep *themselves* in *prattise*: and to maintain opposite *Factions* to peck at *one another*, that whiles the people were busied in *private contests*, they might be the lesse sensible of their *publique oppressions*. Insomuch, that the sad revival of *old Heresies* and *Schismes* (every one of which carried a *Legion of new ones* in its belly) together with the apparent *dangers of extirpation* to the *true Protestant Religion*, and all its *Professors*, for many years together since our sins removed Him from us, have *convinced* not a few, that he was not so much to blame, as was too commonly thought, for not giving His consent to those *violent* and *sudden changes* which their *misguided zeal* (among many others alike misled,) in those times too importunately called for. And no doubt, if he had lived to have perfected his own designed *Modell* for the *Churches settlement*, most of those *dissentions* that have been of late (and yet are) too *flagrant* among us, had long before they arrived at this *maturity*, been buried in the *grave of oblivion*, not so much by *suppressing*, as by *reconciling* the *Dissenters*. But, as *David* when he had collected *materials* for the building of the *Temple*, was fain to leave  
them

### *The loyal Subjects Indignation,*

then with his Advice and Benediction to his Son Solomon to make use of: So our Gracious Sovereign, being not permitted by Providence to live to see the Rearing of that Structure, which he intended, hath left such Materials behind him, together with his Fatherly Charge and Blessing, for this happy work, to his Genuine Son and Lawful Successor, our present Gracious King (whom God long preserve) that we no waies doubt, but (as they are wonderful suitable to the Moderation of his Majesties temper, so) they will in due time be successfully made use of by him to the Happy Settlement of these Churches with the infinite Contentment of all those that love the Peace of Jerusalem.

In the mean while, if by what I have said concerning the Person, whose Funeral Anniversary, this Day is appointed to solemnize (and I am afraid I have rather injur'd his Memory, by saying too little, than the Truth, by saying too much of him) you be in any measure sensible of the Loss you suffered by his violent removal, I hope you are the better prepared to entertain the next Consideration, wherein this accursed Paricide exceeded that of Saul in my Text; and that is,

As also in the difference between the Murderers of both,

2. The View of the Persons who committed this horrid Act: And here our Parallel holds again. Had they been Native Forreigners, as the Amalekite in my Text was, and as he was (in probability) educated in a Heathen Religion, and sowed with the Leaven of National Enmity, heightened with the provocation of an universal Massacre, acted by the person they so barbarously murdered, upon all their dearest Relations, the Crime had been more pardonable; but these Paricides were his Majesties Native Subjects, that had drawn their first Breath in his Hereditary Dominions, & to this Natural Bond of Allegiance, had voluntarily added divers stronger Ties of religious Oaths, Protestations and Covenants; yea, some of those that lifted up not their Heels only, but their Hands against him, were such as did eat of his Bread, his own sworn Servants, none of them disoblighd by any such Provocations of cruel Usages, so that it is hard to imagine, how it might be possible to load a Malefactor with more personal aggravating Considerations, to render him monstrously criminal, than these were notoriously guilty of; except only, that one (which like a vast Mountain, overtops all the rest) that they were Persons of the Professed True Religion, and in that Profession, coveted to engross the Reputation of the most eminently strict and

*Continued 10118*

*for his Royal Sovereigns Decollation.*

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*Conscientious.* And indeed, this is an aggravation, which ought beyond all others, to *whet the indignation* of every *Conscientious Christian* to a *keenness* beyond all moderation, as that which is most *highly injurious* to the whole *Reformed Cause* throughout all the world. O tell it not in *Gath*, nor publish it in the *streets of Ascalon*, lest the *Daughters of the Philistines* rejoyce! Alas! What sport hath this sad scandal already made, and how much more may it yet make, to the *Romish Emissaries*, whose *Religion* hath been vvented to raise *Rebellions*, and to canonize for *Saints*, the most prodigious *Traytors*; and hath alone born the *odium* of monopolizing the guilt of *murdering Princes*, for many ages; that they have now too colourable a pretence to discharge a part of that guilt upon those of the *Protestant Communion*, as being hereby become *Frates in malo*, Brethren in this horrid wickedness with themselves! An *Occasion* which we confess we have cause to bewail, because they make such use of it: But we must vwithal tell them, that we think our *Profession* no way touched in its *reputation* thereby, in the judgment of any whom *inveterate Malice* doth not prejudice against us. For besides, that the *Persons* engaged in this horrid *Act*, were (most of them) departed from the *Protestant Faith* or *Communion*, or both, before they engaged in this horrid *Villany*, (and so can no more justly reflect the guilt thereof upon the Church they once belonged to, than a *Renegado's* miscarriages can concern the *Troop* which he hath forsaken) Let the *Romanist* know, that no such *Fruit* ever grew upon the *root of Protestant Doctrines*, which abhor and detest all such Principles, and execrate all such Offenders; and (by consequence) if any persons who professed themselves *Protestants*, were guilty of this *Barbarous Fact*, *Protestancy* it self is no more concerned in it, than any State is in the Crimes of other Malefactors, who suffer daily by the *Sword of Justice*, for *Robberies*, *Murders*, and *Burglaries*, without any imputation upon the Community to which they belong; which sufficiently vindicates it self, by the *Laws* provided against such Crimes, and the *Severity* executed upon those who commit them, from any partnership in them.

In a word, when the *Romanist* can shew us any such *Tenets* as these, publicly avowed by *general consent of Protestants*. That *Christ hath left a power to any Person or Persons in his Church to dispose of all Crowns and Scepters*, and hath *subordinated the Temporal to the spiri-*

V. 20.

(Occasioning  
a Vindication  
of the Prote-  
stant Religion  
from Romish  
Calumnies.)

*The loyall Subjects Indignation,*

*ual Sword: And that Sovereign Princes being once blasted by the Thunderbolts of that Church, may be lawfully deposed and murdered by their Subjects; and that Subjects (in such a case) are absolved from all Oaths of Fealty and Allegiance to them, &c.]* let them impute the guilt of this horrid Crime to us, and spare not: but so long as we, and they notoriously know, *whose Doctrines* these are, it is no hard matter to guess, *what Heifer* those Seditious Seminaries ploughed with, and at whose *Forge* they sharpened their *Goads*, and *Plow-shares*, who sowed the *Tares*, of such *Traiterous Principles*, in the field of our *English Church and Commonwealth*.

However (for our fuller vindication in this Particular) let every true *Protestant* for ever abominate the *Memory* of those Monsters, and detest their *Principles*, who have thus opened the mouths of our *Adversaries* against our *Religion*, and laid such a stumbling-block of prejudice in the way of those poor seduced creatures among us, who are thereby hardened in the distance they keep from us and our *Communion*.

3. A *Third Consideration* to amplify the horrid murder of our *Late Sovereign*, beyond that of *Saul*, may be taken from the *Fact* it self: Which although (in the case of *Saul*) it hath already been charged with,

1. *Blindness*. 2. *Wilfulness*. And 3. *Audaciousness* enough: Yet in *all these*, our part of the *Parallel* weighs much heavier than that. The *Amalekites Fact* was a *Sneaking Business*, acted in a *Corner*, so that it had not been known, but by his own Relation. But this was a *Publick Tragedy*, in all the *Acts* of it, wherein the *Conspirators*, made all the world *Spektators* of their *audacious Effrontery*. Here was a *Pageantry* of *Publick Justice*, an *High Court* solemnly convened, a *Bench*, and a *Bar*, a *President*, and a *Prisoner*, an *Inditement*, and a *Prosecution*, and a *Sentence*, and all these, in the most publick place of Judicature in the three Nations. And after this, a *Bloudy Execution*, not in a *Corner*, but in the *open Street*, in the *Face of the Sun*, as if they meant (with a kind of defiance to *God himself*) to call him in, as a publick *Spektator*, to behold how insolently they trampled upon his *Authority*, in his undoubted *Viceregent*. A *Tragedy*, which in all the *Acts* and *Scenes* of it, I am confident all the *Histories* in the world cannot match. Many *Kings* have died by the *Sword*, by the *Dagger* and the *Pistol*; many by *poysenous Drugs*, and other such Instruments of

And the vast disproportion between the *Facts* themselves.

of private and clandestine ambition, or revenge: But never any till this black day, by the Executioners Axe, upon a publick Scaffold, in the Front of His own Royal Palace, &c. Nay more, if a Survey were made of all the *Utopian Inventions of Poetical Fancy*, no Stage ever had a Tragedy like this acted upon it. No *Fabulous or feigned History* ever adventured a Relation like it to the eyes of the world: And indeed sober Readers would have disgusted them, if they had, upon the very account of the monstrousness of it, and taxed the Author with an unpardonable Errour, for transgressing the ordinary Rule of Fiction, the subject matter whereof, must be such as seems to carry an appearance of Truth, and though it be not *verum*, yet it is *verisimile*. So that here was a confluence of all that wilful projected Cruelty and Insolence could contribute to the aggravation of a Villany.

*Ficta voluptas  
causa sim  
proxima veris.  
Nec quodcumque  
volet, poscat  
sibi fabula credi.  
Hor. Art.  
Poet.*

4. To shew the Parallel yet more unparallel, in the case of our late Sovereign, his Murderers had none of all those Pleas to excuse their wickedness, which before have been urged on the behalf of the Amalekites.

For,

1. They made it too publick to render it any way disputable, None of the whether they were the Persons who did the Fact or no. And after they had done it, they gloried in it as an act of Transcendent Justice, and took pride to be pointed at for it.

*Amalekites  
Pleas, pleada-  
ble for this.*

2. So far was our murdered Sovereign from being (as Saul was) a Tyrant and a Murderer; that none ever lost Life or Limb by his Authority, but in a course of Justice, or by the chance of war. And if he were an Enemy to any true Davids (which some object to him as a Crime) it was his Infelicity not to understand them to be such, which occasioned it; and I am confident, if any such there be, who had cause to complain of hard usage from him, they are so far Davids still, that they will give the Murderers as little thanks for rescuing them from their Sufferings, in such a way, as he did this Amalekite.

3. So far was he from being weary of his Life, and desiring the courtesie of a dispatch out of it, that he strongly and unanswerably asserted to the faces of his Murderers his Right both to his Life and Crown.

4. So far was he from an inevitable necessity of dying at that time, either by natural Infirmary, or accidental Stroke of Providence, that he was in the very Prime of his Age, Health and Strength.



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5. So far was he from being pursued by any Enemies but themselves, that he had but newly concluded a reconciling Treaty with those who had fought against him, whose Arms and Hearts were with a wonderful alacrity open to receive him, and expiate all former unkindnesses with all possible Demonstrations of Affectionate Loyalty.

6. So far were his Murderers from lighting occasionally upon a temptation to this Fact, and being surprized by the unexpectedness thereof, that it was the issue of a Conspiracy of divers years before.

7. So far were they from being clear of the design of enriching themselves with the Royal Spoiles, that (like Ahab) they had no sooner killed, but they presently fell to taking possession of all the Royal Lands and Revenues, and distributed them amongst themselves: And whereas this Amalekite, after he had done the Fact, he took the Crown and Bracelets of Saul, &c. returned them to his Lawful Successor; these barbarous Murderers to make good their unjust possession) exclude his undoubted Heir and Successor, for many years, from his unquestionable Rights, and put God himself to the expense of a Miracle at last to restore him.

8. And Lastly, So far were they from bewailing the Fact, when they had done it, that (as I before told you) they triumphed in it, as the most Righteous, Heroick and Meritorious Act, that ever was done by men. And some of them expressed an ambition to perpetuate the memory of their Names by no other Epitaph; yet, when Gods Justice and mans overtook them, and brought them to deserved Execution, took the Confidence to challenge a Crown of Martyrdom in the Kingdom of Glory, and prefer the Cause wherein they suffered, before those of the chiefest of Martyrs; and abused themselves with a Rodomantick perswasion, that it were a piece of ambition, becoming the most eminent of that noble Society, to desire an Exchange of condition with them. The saddest Instances of the efficacy of delusion that ever the world saw from its first Creation to that very day.

And thus have I done with my Parallel so far as it concerns the Circumstances of the two Facts, the one of the Text, and the other of the Time; wherein there is little to be seen, but Concordia discors, an agreement in nothing but this, that there is scarce any Circumstance wherein they agree. I have only this to add, that I hope to find a better Harmony in the other Part of it, which comes now

The Conclusion  
in a serious ap-  
plication of the  
other two  
parts of the  
Text, express-  
ing a desire  
that in these  
the Parallel  
may hold be-  
tween David  
and us: Or  
rather that  
we may exceed  
him (as there  
is great cause)



to hand ; [the *Parallel* of *Dauids* carriage upon the one, and the *Temper* of all *Religious Hearts* among us, and the *Generations* that are to come, in reference to the *other*] containing the *due sense* which as he had, so we ought to have, of so detestable and peculiar a Fact, and dismal a Providence : Which *sense* (according to the forementioned distribution ) ought to express itself in three things.

1. *Grief* ; of which *David* had far less cause than we, upon a fourfold account.

In our Grief,  
For  
the Loss received.

1. Of the *Loss* received : Which ( in *Dauids* case ) was inconsiderable, if compared with *ours*, He indeed lost a *Sovereign*, valiant enough to fight the *Lords Battels*, and one, who by his conduct, had divers times saved *Israel* ; but one who was now in his *Wane* and *Declination* ; so that ( whatsoever *David* in modesty thought of him ) the *Loss* of *Saul* was *Israels* gain, by making room for a better Successor, *himself*.

But our loss was like the dropping of a skilful *Pilot* overboard, when the *Ship* under his conduct, was in the very *Mouth* of the *haven*, and big with expectation of landing its precious Merchandise, but ( by that sad accident ) cast into the hands of *raw*, and *rash* and *mutinous Seamen* ; whose indiscretions and animosities have cast us back again into a *tempestuous Sea*, where we have for many years been tossed up and down, with unspeakable hazard, till at last God by a *Miraculous Providence*, brought to our help, a *Phoenix* raised out of his *Ashes*, the true *Heir*, both of his *Kingdoms* and *Vertues*, who hath once more brought us within sight of *Land*, and we hope will ( if our sins obstruct not his endeavours ) set us safe on shore. To prevent which mischief, we ought to grieve ( as we have cause ) more then *David*.

2. Upon account of *those sins* ( in general ) which provoked God to take him from us. *David* knew, that God had cast off formerly, and now cut off *Saul* for his *own* sins, not *his*. But we have cause enough to charge this loss upon our own provoking sins, which ( at that time, and since ) have been too notoriously apparent to God and the world : Such as, Contempt of Gods Word and Sacraments, Reproaching and persecuting his Faithful Messengers, Wanton affecting of new Notions and Inventions, and concerning old Truths, and the primitive simplicity of the Gospel, Uncharitable schismes and separations in the Church, and ambitious self-seeking, and ( in

and our sins ( in general ) provoking God to inflict it : Whereof some are expressed ; ( the peoples. )

order :

order thereunto, fomenting Factions in the State, Sacrilegious robbing of God, and barbarous spoiling and destroying one another with a rage reaching up to Heaven, Notorious Debauchery and Profaneness in all sorts and degrees of men, which spared neither Gods Name, nor his Sabbaths, nor his Creatures, nor the Profession of Religion in the life and power of it, toleration of Popery, and other dangerous Errors and Heresies, and (to make our Ephah of sins yet fuller) a spirit of Rebellion spread over the whole Nation, against just and lawful Authority; and many more might be added to this Black Roll, but that I hasten to an end.

And was it not time (think you) for God to be avenged of such a Nation as this was? and I would to God (I could with a clear Conscience) stop at *was*: But I fear, it may, with too much evidence of Truth be added, and *yet is*. And who could tax that Justice, which by his Providence suffered us to cut through that Bank with our own hands, which (under himself) kept out that Deluge of Miseries, which our sins deserved, and fell down that Royal Tree, in the Branches whereof our several Nests were built. And oh! Let us fear, lest by the continued guilt of the same sins, we procure a Decree of the Watchers, to cut down those Royal shafts, that have grown up in his stead (and he hath begun with them already, to our sad loss) and not leave so much as a stump in the earth, out of which a Rod may grow, to make a Scepter of.

The Thron<sup>e</sup>s  
waved,

But (possibly) here I may be interrupted with a Question: whether all the Fault which provoked God to inflict such a severe stroke, were in the People, and the Throne altogether guiltless.

and why.)

To which I answer; That I doubt not but personal sins, and acts of mis-government towards the people under their charge, are incident to Kings as well as to persons of a lower degree. And I dare not perfwade my self or others, that our late Sovereign was so much Saint, as to be altogether free; nay he was so much Saint, as (more then once) to confesse miscarriages in his Government. But I must tell the enquirers withall, that I do not believe him one half so criminal, as popular prejudice, blown up by the breath of factious spirits endeavoured to make him. And for what was really amiss in him, I have this to plead, That Kings are persons under such Temptations, as Vulgar capacities do not understand: that because of their eminency and publique influence, the Tempter thrusts sorer at them then ordinary, that they may fall; that God

Psal. 118. 13.

doth

doth sometimes lead them into Temation, because his wrath is kindled against their people; that (in Scripture) those who have the commendation of Gods Spirit for the best of Kings, (*David and Solomon*) have yet more and fouler spots upon their Names, than *K. Charles*; and that were the busie enquirers into, and censurers of *Kings* faults a while in their places, I fear they would commit more and greater. Let the *Questionist* if he can, answer me this Question, *Si fueris tu Leo, qualis eris?*

In a word, Were I sufficiently instructed in the Cabinet affairs of our late Sovereign, and had I a revelation withall afforded me, to discover the secret springs of those Counsels upon which he acted, and his own mind in acting; and were I enabled thereby to conclude him really guilty of whatever, and more, then what malice and prejudice have ever charged him withall, I should think my self obliged to do (what is the duty of every good man) that right to his memory, as to bury his errors and miscarriages in his grave, and proclaim his virtues as Royal examples to all Posterity. The Lord discover to his Sacred Majesty, who now fills his Seat, (to whom this enquiry is more proper then to us) both these and those, that he may render his virtues immortal by imitation, and wash off the guilt of his failings, (if any such adhere to the Throne) by deprecating the imputation of them, and avoiding the incursion of the like. And let us help him herein in our prayers, and encourage him by our loyal affections and obedience; and amend our own lives the rather, upon the account of the love we bear to his prosperity; to whom our sins (whatever they are) are Traitors, though our selves be never so loyal and affectionate subjects.

3. Let us grieve (and herein I am sure *David* had not so much cause by *Sauls* own frequent confession) for that special guilt which the Nation in general, and particular persons in great multitudes everywhere have contracted, by any way furthering antecedently, or abetting consequentially, so horrid and execrable a murder.

Let no Person or Party think to shift off this duty, as that which only concerns such and such, who had the unhappinesse to appear in a contrary engagement to him in the field, (divers of whom, as hath appeared by many real evidences, have vindicated their integrity (with *David*) in this particular, notwithstanding the foul reflections of some irreconcilable Zealots, (whose heat no Acts of Indempnity or Oblivion can flake) I say, let no man shift off this guilt:

And for any sort of partnership in this particular horrid fall,

(which few are clear of.)

*The loyal Subjects Indignation;*

guilt upon others, because he was engaged in a *Party* or *Interest* lesse obnoxious to such an imputation: For, by that time we all have seriously examined our selves upon these weighty *Interrogatories*, Whether we have not (*anecedently* to this sad accident) had an hand in the heightning *animosities*, and fomenting the *differences*, whether Religious or Civil, and sowing *prejudices* and *jealousies*, which gave occasion to the *publick contests*? Nay, whether we did *what we might*, and to the utmost of our power, to keep them from arriving at such an height? And whether (*during* the civil broyls) we (*setting aside* the consideration of the Quarrel, which (I hope) we shall all strive to remember no more) have not been guilty of such unjust *oppressions*, and *exaltions*, and *violences*, as exasperated *opposite parties* into an irreconcilableness? Nay further, whether we *interposed* (*at the time* wherein that bloody Tragedy was acting) in all such waies as were within the compasse of our capacity to hinder it? Some did indeed, but how few to the body of the Nation? Nay rather, whether we did not, by *Petition*, or other encouragement, *promote* it? Or if not, yet, whether we *mourned* for it, and *deprecated* the *guilt* of it? Whether we *declared* (*after* the sad blow given) our just *abomination* and *detestation* of the fact in our several places and capacities? Some indeed did (and let it be remembred to their everlasting honour that they did so,) but how many were there (who should have been more bold in such a cause) in whose mouths there were no *reproofs*? And lastly, Whether (*ex post facto*) we have not *justified* the fact, by *flattering Addresses* to the pretended Authority, of those who *usurped* the *Royal Power* successively? Whether we have not *laid our hands unjustly* upon any of the *Royal Revenues*? Whether we have not *contributed Money* or *Arms* towards the *opposition* of his *present Majesties restitution*? And (in a word) Whether we swallowed not the execrable *Engagement* against *Kingship* it self, which very few (except only some *nice Consciences* here and there, who valued their *Allegiance* at an higher rate) refused to subscribe? I say, by that time every ones *Conscience* hath seriously answered these *Interrogatories*, and many such more as may be made, it will be well if *Centesimus quisq;* one of an hundred can before God and his own serious *Conscience*, say, *I am altogether innocent of this blood*. O, that our *Repentance* might be as general as our *Guilt*; and that we might not by casting it in each others Faces, think to clear our selves,

selves from that which must be discharged and blotted out only upon our particular and personal repentance.

4. And Lastly, Let us (as common Christianity binds us) grieve for those who will not be perswaded to grieve for themselves, but are so obdurate in the error of their seduced Consciences, that they secretly applaud themselves, and canonize others for Saints of an eminent Rank, upon the bare account of their influence upon, and engagement in this abominable Act. Alas ! Poor seduced Creatures ! Can you imagine that God will own it as a piece of merit in you or any other, that you affront, and contemn, and injure (with the utmost indignity) his own deputed Authority ? Would any of you, *si parvis componere magna liceret*, account your selves obliged by him who with the utmost strength he can make, attempts the molestation or dispossession of a Tenant that holds in your right ? Did you ever read in any Scriptural or Church-Records, that any Person was ever accounted a Martyr, that suffered for conspiring, and much less, for murdering his Lawful Sovereign ; excepting only the Black Kalendar of the Apostate Church of Rome ? And shall those who bid the greatest defiance to Popery in their Profession, forsake all the Churches of Christ in all Ages of the world, to adhere to them, in a matter of such concernment, and justifie Beckets and Garnets, and other such Traytor-Saints, by vindicating them, in comparison to whom, they were Saints indeed ? O, let us pray for the Conviction of these deluded Souls, and if our Prayers prevail not, let us weep for them in secret, though they laugh never so much at our tenderness towards them, as a foolish pity ; and prophanely bless themselves from our Charity, which their erroneous Consciences judge mistaken.

2. Wonder and Astonishment, at the monstrous Confidence which animated those Wretches who presumed to sit in Judgment, and pass Sentence of Condemnation upon their Lawful Sovereign, and (after 12 years time vouchsafed them by God to repent in, before his Vengeance found them out) would fain perswade God by their Prayers, and the World by their Speeches, that they dyed with Consciences so innocent, in this matter, as to need no repentance. I profess solemnly, I was never more surprized with admiration, at any thing in my life, than I was upon the accidental view of that dangerous insinuating piece (the poyson whereof (I fear) hath infected hundreds of ignorant and well-meaning people) *The Relati-*

And (lastly) for those who are hardened in the guilt of this sin.

and in our wonder at the amazing confidence of these late executed Traytors.

## The loyal Subjects Indignation, &c.

on of the last Passages of the late detestable Traytors; and that, to see how Omnipotent a Deceiver (if I may so speak) that Spirit of Error and Delusion is, that can so artificially extract Heaven out of Hell, and not only Charm Conscience (even upon the very Brink of Eternity) into a sleep, but impose upon it with such a Cheat as to absolve and justify in so high a manner those Offenders, and so many of them (except we will suppose a Confederacy in such a uniform resolution, of purpose designed for the animating the relics of a broken Party, which I can hardly be so uncharitable as to believe) whom both the Law of God, and the Dictates of Nature in the Principles of all Nations under Heaven condemn. For my part, I dare not judge their eternal estate: But this I must say (for the prevention of any evil Influence from their examples) that I would not for 10000 worlds run their hazard, for all their Confidences and Comforts. And if I had an Infalible Revelation, to tell me they were gone to Heaven, I should think my self bound, to keep it in my own Bosom, lest the publishing of it should occasion the leading Millions to Hell; and pray God, to lead me to Heaven in a more ordinary and unsuspected Rode, and keep me from being carried up to a Pinnacle of Spiritual Pride upon the Devils shoulders in the shape of an Angel of Light.

and abominati-  
on of the Prin-  
ciples that lead  
to such horrid  
Crimes.  
Particularly  
the Fifth Mo-  
narchists.

3. Abomination of those principles which tend to the like Practises. Of all which (and these late years have been as fruitfull in Doctrines of this tendency, as Affrica is of Monsters) there are none more desperate, than those of the Expectants of a Fifth Monarchy to be begun in the personal appearance of Christ upon earth to crush all Earthly Powers, and reign visibly with his Saints a thousand years before the general Resurrection, which fancy with abundance more strange conceits of like nature, some confident new Doctors among them, pretend to gather from the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Apocalypse so evidently, that they have often presumed to set and fix the time of his appearance. What a Spirit these Principles can conjure up, there needs no further evidence then the desperate attempt made so lately, by an inconsiderable number of the men of that persuasion; while they are seduced to believe, that to make way for this Kingdom of Christ, the horridest murders are meritorious, and the justest executions for those murders, Martyrdom. But alas! poor men, would Christ come to set up a Temporal Kingdom, he hath waies enough of his own to effect it: So that

Nontali Auxilio, nec Defensoribus istis,  
Christus eget. —

Christ hath no more need of their Arms to further it, then we have of their Principles, from both which, Good Lord deliver us, AMEN.

FINIS.

